

WORONI

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moratorium edition

"I promised
a just peace.

I will keep
that promise."

Richard Nixon,
May 1, 1970.



Last Friday President Nixon made his dramatic announcement on the U.S. position with respect to the advance of the war into Cambodia. Several thousand U.S. troops have joined with about fifteen thousand South Vietnamese troops in an attempt to destroy the Vietcong Stronghold 20 miles inside Cambodia.

It is a hard task to show the relationship between this and Nixon's withdrawal announcement made only a few weeks earlier. That statement gave a clear view of the new U.S. outlook on South East Asia, despite talk of a "victory". Mr. Whitlam gave an excellent appraisal of that speech, interpreting it as notice of the end of U. S. influence in all of South East Asia.

Now Mr. Nixon has thrown the war into Cambodia and the story of Vietnam looks like repeating itself. He has made the same mistake that Johnson made - heeding the military who believe a military victory is attainable. It was their mistake that brought the bombing of North Vietnam and the escalation of U.S. commitments to over 500,000 troops. As Robert Duffield said in Saturday's 'Australian', Nixon's decision is just a turning of the clock "back to the myth of military victory".

There are several strange points in Nixon's Address to the Nation. He said that America had "scrupulously respected the neutrality of the Cambodian people", yet the Cambodian Ambassador to Australia has written several letters to the Sydney Morning Herald over certain U.S. bombing raids inside Cambodia in recent years. One

wonders whether in fact Cambodian operations are just like the Laotian ones, which we recently learnt had been going on secretly since 1963.

Then Mr. Nixon noted that North Vietnam have operated from Cambodia "for the past five years". If this is so, why didn't Johnson attack Cambodian bases at the height of his escalation of the war? North Vietnam are known to have had about 28,000 troops in Cambodia for years; it is clear then that they have no intentions on Cambodia itself except as a strategic advantage for the war in Vietnam. And this has been so for a long time. If America is really withdrawing, why escalate into Cambodia?

Mr. Nixon's references to past Presidents was a peculiar analogy.

How can one compare World War I and II, Korea, the Middle East, or Cuba with the fray in Vietnam. It is unbelievable that the President of the United States cannot see that Vietnam is a different war, and no analogy with past American wars is valid. Pride in past victories is hardly an excuse for escalation, especially where the price of winning is measured in terms of genocide. To talk of refusing to "see this nation accept the first defeat in its proud 190-year history" is mere chest thumping emotions which can only cause one to suspect the real purposes of his action.

Again Mr. Nixon's announcement shows mistaken military strategy. Right back in 1966 and 1967 the U.S. operated blitzkrieg attacks where areas under enemy control were more or less wiped off the map, yet the Vietcong were able to return later and the

American's operation proved useless. Now Nixon sends off a similar operation to Cambodia and expects it to work - that the Vietcong won't return, or alternatively, not set up headquarters in Laos or another part of Cambodia. Even militarily, Nixon is making a huge error.

And Mr. Nixon made one glaring omission: was he asked to go into Cambodia by the Cambodians? The answer seems clear - he was not asked. Diplomatic relations between the Vietnamese and the Cambodians have been broken for years. Australia acts for one and Japan for the other whenever consultation is necessary. The Vietnamese, whether from North or South, are not wanted in Cambodia at all.

It seems strange now to remember that Nixon gained the Presidency on a wave of anti Johnson feeling because of Johnson's handling of the War. Cambodia can only be regarded as another tragic mistake along the lines of the earlier escalations in Vietnam. Yet Nixon is pulling out?

It is this contradiction that is perplexing the whole world. If Nixon is pulling out, why enter Cambodia? He says it is to gain security for his remaining troops, yet the North Vietnamese have been there for five years, and if forced out now will return later anyway. This is just the way of a war where holding is as important and difficult as taking over. It is all an incredible error of escalation if the man really is trying to withdraw. Perhaps he wants the world to believe he is withdrawing from a position of

victory so as not to let the U.S. be humiliated. Or perhaps we should doubt the withdrawal completely.

Probably the interpretation that best explains the situation is that Nixon has, like Johnson, made the tragic mistake of listening to his military advisors, who are trying to convince him of his own propaganda. American intentions never have been easy to ascertain, but this time it appears that the action fits no intentions - it is a mistake on all sides. If military victory is the intention in Vietnam, a single operation - in and out - is not the most advantageous method. If political victory is intended, this operation does nothing. If it is a face-saving operation for the U.S., according to world cable reports in Australian newspapers it has already failed. Leaders around the world have admonished Nixon for this announcement.

As far as this Moratorium is concerned, the action in Cambodia can only add to its impact. The utter uselessness of the Allied intervention is illustrated again and the call for a quick withdrawal will gain even more support. Those who thought the Moratorium was pointless in the light of recent withdrawals must now reconsider. The Vietnam War is certainly not over yet.

WORONI



EDITORIAL

THEY'RE ALL HONOURABLE MEN

When the French tried to move back into Vietnam after World War 11, the President of the United States objected strongly because Ho Chi Minh was the legitimate leader. A few years later the U.S. was financing over eighty percent of all French military costs. But they're all honourable men.

In 1954 the U.S. unilaterally agreed to the Geneva Agreements including the provisions: that no foreign troops remain in Vietnam; that there be no foreign bases on Vietnamese soil; that no foreign military aid be permitted into Vietnam; that Vietnam was one country; that nation-wide elections be held in 1956; that no troops should cross the temporary division between North and South Vietnam. In 1956 the U.S. decided not to hold elections in South Vietnam; in 1954 U.S. military advisors and masses of U.S. military aid were sent to South Vietnam; from 1954 on, U.S. bases were formed, and the International Control Commission refused entry. But these are honourable men.

It is strange that the International Control Commission (Canada, India, Poland) did not condemn North Vietnam for any breaches of the Geneva Agreement (until a disputed report in 1962 (Poland dissented) mentioned that a certain number of North Vietnamese troops had crossed into South Vietnam. (The U.S. had been condemned in the previous eleven reports.) And there has never been charges against North Vietnam for having foreign troops there. Yet in 1965 Menzies spoke of the Chinese threat as the justification for sending troops to Vietnam. And we all know that he is an honourable man!

In 1965 there was the infamous Torkin Gulf incident where according to U.S. sources, the U.S.S. "Maddox" was attacked by North Vietnamese torpedo boats on August 4. The North Vietnamese claimed the U.S. had attacked North Vietnam on July 30 and August 1 and 2; and South Vietnam confirmed that they had raided North Vietnam since January 15 "under the protective cover of the U.S. Air Force and units of the 7th fleet" The Torkin Gulf incident (see 'Time' article in this issue) was used to justify the escalation of the war, and the bombing of North Vietnam. But we believe the U.S. leaders and our own leaders because they're honourable men.

On April 29, 1965 Sir Robert Menzies announced Australia's commitment to Vietnam. Since 1962 there had been Australian advisors in Vietnam, but now the commitment was to be a full battalion of troops. In March 1966 the Australian Government announced it would send further troops, including conscripts, bringing the total to 4,500 men. But conscription had not been introduced for the Vietnam War - we believe this because Menzies is an honourable man.

In 1966 there were free elections in South Vietnam. The chief opponent of the eventual winners was given five years' gaol for advocating peace negotiations; and all candidates were screened in case they had any sympathies with the 'communists'. But they were free elections because Mr. Johnson and Mr. Holt said so, and they are honourable men.

The battle for Khe San was important while the U.S. were there because Khe San was a "strategic outpost", but when the U.S. were defeated it was not "a strategic loss". But this is no contradiction because the generals are honourable men.

In 1968 President Johnson called for the Bombing Halt; but earlier in 1968 he said that a stop in the bombing would serve no useful purpose. Both statements are correct because Johnson is an honourable man.

This is getting so boring, so I'll speed it up.

In 1969, Mr. Gorton, said withdrawal must be done in a 'one-out, all out' procedure, but in 1970 he announced the withdrawal of one battalion. But that's all right because Gorton is an honourable man.

In 1970, Mr. Gorton said that Laos and Cambodia illustrated The Domino Theory, and at the same time the war in Vietnam was won and so the Domino Theory was checked. No problem here, because Gorton is an honourable man.

That's enough.

WHEN IS SOMEONE GOING TO SAY THE TRUTH.

Let's get out and stay out. Stop kidding us about Vietnam and Conscription. The National Service Act must be repealed and the Vietnam War stopped. NOW.

ADVICE TO A DRAFTEE

In my last letter I answered your question as well as I could. It is not only Christians but all just people who must refuse to become soldiers - that is, to be ready on another's command (for this is what a soldier's duty actually consists of) to kill all those one is ordered to kill. The question as you state it - which is more useful, to become a good teacher or to suffer for rejecting conscription? - is falsely stated. The question is falsely stated because it is wrong for us to determine our actions according to their results, to view actions merely as useful or destructive. In the choice of our actions we can be led by their advantages or disadvantages only when the actions themselves are not opposed to the demands of morality.

We can stay home, go abroad, or concern ourselves with farming or science according to what we find useful for ourselves or others; for neither in domestic life, foreign travel, farming, nor science is there anything immoral. But under no circumstance can we inflict violence on people, torture or kill them because we think such acts could be of use to us or to others. We cannot and may not do such things, especially because we can never be sure of the results of our actions. Often actions which seem the most advantageous of all turn out in fact to be destructive; and the reverse is also true.

The question should not be stated: which is more useful, to be a good teacher or to go to gaol for refusing conscription? but rather: what should a man do who has been called upon for military service - that is, called upon to kill or prepare himself to kill?

And to this question, for a person who understands the true meaning of military service and who wants to be moral, there is only one clear and incontrovertible answer: such a person must refuse to take part in military service no matter what consequences this refusal may have. It may seem to us that this refusal could be futile or even harmful, and that it would be a far more useful thing, after serving one's time, to become a good village teacher. But in the same way, Christ could have judged it more useful for himself to be a good carpenter and submit to all the principles of the Pharisees than to die in obscurity as he did, repudiated and forgotten by everyone.

Moral acts are distinguished from all other acts by the fact that they operate independently of any predictable advantage to ourselves or to others. No matter how dangerous the situation may be of a man who finds himself in the power of robbers who demand that he take part in plundering, murder, and rape, a moral person cannot take part. Is not military service the same thing? Is one not required to agree to the deaths of all those one is commanded to kill?

But how can one refuse to do what everyone does, what everyone finds unavoidable and necessary? Or, must one do what no one does and what everyone considers unnecessary or even stupid and bad? No matter how strange it sounds, this strange argument is the main one offered against those moral acts which in our times face you and every other person called up for military service. But this argument is even more incorrect than the one which would make a moral action dependent upon considerations of advantage.

If I, finding myself in a crowd of running people, run with the crowd without knowing where, it is obvious that I have given myself up to mass hysteria; but if by chance I should push my way to the front, or be gifted with sharper sight than the others, or receive information

Written in 1899 to a desperate young candidate for conscription, Tolstoy's words will seem to some to bear a relevance to Australia.

Count Tolstoy's letter was addressed to a young Hessian named Ernst Schramm, whose earlier correspondence with the great writer has been lost; Schramm evidently wrote a second time in an effort to evade Tolstoy's argument that he refuse conscription. The letter printed here is Tolstoy's response to Schramm's second letter, and it seems to have terminated the exchange. In reading Tolstoy's words against killing, one should bear in mind that both parties understood that the Hessian army in 1899 was a peace-time arm, but that the penalty for evading conscription was death.

that this crowd was racing to attack human beings and toward its own corruption, would I really not stop and tell the people what might rescue them? Would I go on running and do these things which I knew to be bad and corrupt? This is the situation of every individual called up for military service, if he knows what military service means

I can well understand that you, a young man full of life, loving and loved by your mother, friends, perhaps a young woman, think with a natural terror about what awaits you if you refuse conscription; and perhaps you will not feel strong enough to bear the consequences of refusal, and knowing your weakness, will submit and become a soldier. I understand completely, and I do not for a moment allow myself to blame you, knowing very well that in your place I might perhaps do the same thing. Only do not say that you did it because it was useful or because everyone does it. If you did it, know that you did wrong.

In every person's life there are moments in which he can know himself, tell himself who he is, whether he is a man who values his human dignity above his life or a real creature who does not know his dignity and is concerned merely with being useful (chiefly to himself). This is the situation of a man who goes out to defend his honour in a duel or a soldier who goes into battle (although here the concepts of life are wrong). It is the situation of a doctor or a priest called to someone sick with plague, of a man in a burning house or a sinking ship who must decide whether to let the weaker go first or shove them aside and save himself. It is the situation of a man in poverty who accepts or rejects a bribe. And in our times, it is the situation of a man called to military service. For a man who knows its significance, the call to the army is perhaps the only opportunity for him to behave as a morally free creature and fulfil the highest requirement of his life - or else merely to keep his advantage in sight like an animal and thus remain slavishly submissive and servile until humanity becomes degraded and stupid.

For these reasons I answered your question whether one has to refuse to do military service with a categorical "yes" - if you understand the meaning of military service (and if you did not understand it then, you do now) and if you want to behave as a moral person living in our times must.

Please excuse me if these words are harsh. The subject is so important that one cannot be careful enough in expressing oneself so as to avoid false interpretation.

April 7, 1899

Leo Tolstoy.



MORATORIUM

Jim Cairns

why

Why Moratorium? Because Moratorium means to stop! And the time to stop the war in Vietnam has certainly come!

The war in Vietnam did not begin in 1962 when Australians went there or in 1954 when Americans went there or in 1945 when the British and Chiang Kai Shek Chinese went there or in 1941 when the Japanese went there or in 1847 when the French went there. The war in Vietnam began long before there were Communists.

It began and it has continued because enough Vietnamese people were determined to fight for their independence against all foreign invaders.

Is that at all strange? Is there anyone who cannot understand it?

The Vietnamese have not invaded Australia or America or France. But hundreds of thousands of French, Americans and Australians and others have invaded Vietnam. The war is in Vietnam. It is not here.

And what a war it is! It is a war against civilians.

Between 1847 and 1941 the French killed at least 350,000 Vietnamese, millions died of starvation, and most of them were civilians. Wars and revolts against the French continued throughout their ninety year long attempt to capture and occupy Vietnam.

Between 1945 and 1954 the French killed at least 500,000 Vietnamese and wounded more, mostly civilians. This was in a war against the Vietnamese to

whom the French had granted rights to govern themselves.

Between 1956 and 1970, the Americans taking over control from the French, with their allies killed at least 250,000 "Viet Cong" and 350,000 civilians in South Vietnam, and over 90,000 North Vietnamese, mostly civilians.

The My Lai massacre is no exception to the killing. Perhaps as many as 700 people were killed in My Lai with M16 rifles.

You can massacre people with M16 rifles but you can also do it with bombs, napalm and aircraft firing 5,000 rounds a minute into villages. This has been done extensively and up to 1968 a greater force of bombs had been dropped on Vietnam than upon all countries during World War 11. Much of Vietnam is scarred and burnt like the face of the moon.

If a platoon with M16 rifles commits an atrocity in one small village, what does 3 million tons of bombs and napalm do in one small country? If one officer should be tried for what happened in one village, what should happen to a President who is responsible for it all?

And what has it all achieved?

It was supposed to be to support a Government in Saigon that would so much represent the people that it could stop the advance of Communism.

But what kind of Government has been in office in Saigon? In 1963, Denis Warner (Melbourne Herald) described it as one of "medieval inquisitors". In 1970 Averill Harriman, America's Chief Negotiator in Paris said it was "repressive and suppressive" and said "there is no evidence that it represents the people. Thieu is a minority ruler who opposes negotiations and wants the U.S. to win the war for him, although the Vietnamese people voted for peace when Thieu himself was elected."

Americans are always saying "If only our Vietnamese would fight as well as theirs?"

Why is this so? Why is the Government in Saigon corrupt and why do 500,000 Americans and 100,000 other foreigners have to fight for it?

It is because many Vietnamese do not want their country to be run by foreigners or by Vietnamese who depend on foreigners! It is because many Vietnamese want land reform and other social changes but the Saigon government and its officials would lose the land they own and their power and money if these reforms take place.

Now, there are no Chinese or Russians fighting in Vietnam. Vietnam is a small peasant country. They have no aircraft at all in South Vietnam, no navy and only weapons they have captured or only small, short range weapons supplied by Communist countries but they have been able to stalemate or defeat the most powerful military nation in the world which has directed at them the most intense fire-power the world has ever seen.

Why have a few Vietnamese peasants been able to do so much? Does it not prove they really have something to fight for?

Reverse the position and suppose that Australia had been occupied for more than a century by foreign powers. Suppose that the Vietnamese and Chinese were here 7,000 miles away from their country arguing that they were going to "stop us here rather than there", just as Americans and Australians are in Vietnam. Suppose hundreds of thousands of Australians had been killed by napalm and bombs and that much of Australia had been bombed and burnt half way back to the stone age. Suppose there had been a few MyLai massacres in Australian country towns.

Would not at least some of us fight like some Vietnamese have? What would we do to Australians who collaborated with those who had done all this damage to our country? Could we be sure some of us would not be guilty of "terror"?

What does a country have to do to be right? What do we have to do to be wrong?

Then there is the dominoes? What about the dominoes?

If they win the war in Vietnam, it is said, it will spread and each country in turn will fall like dominoes in a line to the Communists. You see, even the most ardent supporters of war against Vietnam, do not say the Vietnamese or Chinese like Hitler or the Japanese in World War II will invade other countries and take them over. It is a different process. It is the dominoes!

But if it is not a military expedition from one country to another it must depend upon something that is inside a country. If people inside a country are to take up arms they will risk their lives. If they are to risk their lives things must be bad.

What makes things bad? Usually it needs a foreign occupation. Usually people have to feel the need for land reform and jobs. Usually they have to be attacked by the authorities and forced to fight. No one wants to lose his life. People do it only when things are desperate. They became desperate in Vietnam.

Isn't it a matter of dealing with bad conditions and preventing them from becoming desperate, not shooting those who object to them?

Many people agree that if conditions become intolerable people have a right to change them. If they cannot change them peacefully it has been widely recognised they have a right to use force. The American Constitution embodies the principle and it was stated and believed in by Thomas Jefferson.

The history of Vietnam proves that conditions were intolerable - foreign domination, poverty and suppression. And it proves there has been no peaceful way open to the people. There is a revolution in Vietnam. We do not have the right to send their country half way back to the stone age in an attempt to stop it.

The dominoes will not "fall", and those that have 'fallen' in Indonesia and Cambodia have fallen to the right, unless conditions are intolerable in a country and unless the changes are backed by nationals of that country. The morally just course to deal with conditions that may cause revolutions and improve them not shoot those who object to intolerable condition. We have never really tried to improve conditions in Vietnam. We backed up "medieval inquisitors" and money-hungry, corrupt generals whose position compels them to stop changes in those conditions. We have always backed up military action in Vietnam. But now the need for change is being recognised.

Denis Warner, perhaps the most consistent advocate of military action in Vietnam, has now decided differently. (See Readers Digest, March 1970):

"Australia and the US have been defeated in Vietnam," (p 131) That "we" will be defeated in Thailand (the next domino) if we continue the same policy as in Vietnam. America will not "continue to give man power aid" - in simple words will not send American troops into other countries. Therefore, argues Warner, Australia cannot send our troops into other countries and "we" should join Japan and America and pour investment into the poor countries presumably so that living conditions will not remain so bad that people will be forced to risk their lives in revolt and push over another domino.

Well! It's taken Denis Warner ten years to change. But if he has now switched from military intervention isn't it time we all did?

Isn't it time for a Moratorium Campaign to stop the war?

The war in Vietnam is now a purposeless slaughter. It can be stopped only if the people show their government that they want it to be stopped. But the Australian government has taken little notice of votes, words or demonstrations. If it is to be moved we must do more.

Dr. Jim Cairns.

One of the notable characteristics of Australians is that as a people we are not well-g geared to withstand informed criticism of our social institutions and thought patterns. We are sensitive to criticism and conformist to an almost pathological degree and boat rockers and "stirrers" are suspect and shunned. Moreover, words like "Left", "radical", "protest" and "political" are almost invariably used in a pejorative sense. Even the phrase "civil liberties" is sadly tainted. There is an almost general distaste for anything which might threaten our moral holiday-weekend affluence and passionate desire for conformity. Why are we more immature and sensitive to adverse criticism than the English and the Americans? Is it a result of our small population, our relative physical isolation, or a consequence of our long preoccupation with conquering our physical frontiers? It is, of course, difficult to tell. But it is certain that having largely come to terms with our physical environment, the frontiers of mind and barriers of social development have yet to be assuaged by many pioneers in Australia.

Who are the fearless thinkers in our society and the questioners of our basic assumptions and institutions? The Universities, the Churches, and the ranks of our politicians seem to throw up few such people. When will the Churchmen to a man stand up and be counted on issues of just plain Christianity: the charity bit? Where are the books by practising and retired teachers and educators on the crises confronting education? Where too are the articles and books on Australia's defence problems written by retired generals, rear-admirals and air vice-marshals? Where are the critical and informed accounts of our former public service chiefs and diplomatic representatives? Are they all incapable of making a contribution? One suspects so. Are they already silenced in the decorative establishment or still gong-tormented and held at bay by the promise of a bauble? Do the provisions of the Public Service Acts merely serve to disguise a complacent mediocrity?

In the face of so much omission, ineptitude or just plain indifference, it is little wonder that today's youth feel the reasons of age. It is not surprising that

Youth and Dissent

many of the young who are not hung-up on the dreary trappings of our materialist society, are prepared to either drop right out or to honestly try and improve society. Today's better informed and educated (or at least exposed) youth are socially and politically more conscious than those of a generation ago. It is a political fact to be reckoned with, that what they have to say and what they do will count for more than their equivalents twenty years ago.

Demonstrations of dissent against the National Service Act, the Vietnam War, and demonstrations in defence of our always endangered civil liberties are a healthy sign in Australian society: not precursors of ultimate anarchy. They indicate that not all Australians have abdicated their responsibilities. The demonstrations and protests of recent years have achieved much through



touching the conscience of a generation which has forgotten much. It is, of course, to be hoped that such protests are always dignified and peaceful. But to condemn demonstrations out of hand because they may result in violence is dangerously irrational and absurd.

Youth, always capable of great idealism and feeling, if given the chance are also capable of the dedication and hard work necessary to understand the problems confronting our society. There are some, of course, who would have the student and apprentice concern himself with nothing but preparation for his career or future as an economic cog; there are some few also who would have the academic speak only of his specialization and turn his back on life. These, letter, totally ignore the whole story of human

development where the "stirrers", reformers and radicals have generally been the literate and educated members of it.

Socrates reminded us that "the unexamined life is not worth living". Unexamined institutions, concepts and policies are likewise not worth enduring. Despite what many ultra-conservatives think in their simple way, it is a healthy sign in our society that the young recognise some problems and are prepared to become more informed about them in order to help solve them. Australian society, with much intellectual pioneering before it, would indeed be sick if its youth, a few "academics", and those that care did not criticise its basic assumptions and institutions, even when it is uncomfortable for all to witness and unpopular for them to do so.

Gerald Walsh.

Australian Policy after Vietnam

If the painful experience of Vietnam has yielded little return for the massive efforts applied by the United States, it has at least provided some sobering lessons. One of the main reasons which the Australian Government has used to justify our involvement in Vietnam has been to build a credit of good will in the United States on which we might draw in time of need. It would now appear that our faithful adherence to the American line has favourably impressed only that group which needed no impressing. Those who dissent from the war are contemptuous of Australian involvement, while senior administration officials such as Clark Clifford accuse Australia of hypocrisy for providing such a small force and yet expecting the United States to contribute so much. Future Australian policies which tend to add new commitments to the United States seem likely to weaken rather than strengthen the Anzus alliance.

While the United States is conducting its withdrawal from Vietnam we must pay heed to her growing reluctance to become involved in future land wars in Asia. If the United States is not prepared to carry out counter-insurgency operations in South-east Asia who else will be? Sir Douglas Home during his recent visit to Canberra said that if the Conservatives won the next British elections, British forces would return to Malaysia. However their numbers would be small - the Army component would not exceed two battalions, a smaller force than that with which we try to control an area thirty miles across in Phuoc Tuy.

The lack of any other forces compels the conclusion that Australia would be unwise to commit her slender forces to combat future insurgencies in South-east Asia. It would be particularly tragic if Australian willingness to contribute forces encouraged a South-east Asian government to take a hard line with local opponents only to find that Australia could really do little to help in time of acute crisis. These considerations apply to areas as far away as Thailand and Malaysia and as close as New Guinea.

The negative spirit of these military considerations must be balanced by a more positive involvement in regional development through trade, education and more frequent interchange of specialists and students. Our understanding of the problems of each country in the region has to grow a great deal before Australia can effectively apply her resources to creating a better international community. There should be no difficulty in further developing our contacts with Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. However this is not likely to be the case with the most sorely troubled and unstable nations of the region - Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. It is difficult to see any long term solution to the problems of Indo China by which Hanoi is not the seat of influence, as distinct from the seat of direct control. The challenge of adjustment to this state of affairs may well be the most rigorous test yet of the maturity of our foreign policy.

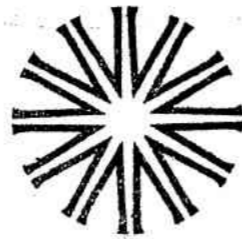
robert o'neil



FACTS ON VIETNAM

GUNS OF AUGUST 4

from TIME MAGAZINE, March 1, 1968



At about five miles, star shells were fired from Maddox. It was, in McNamara's words, "a very dark, moonless, overcast, night" - or, as Maddox Radarman James Stankevitz put it, "darker than the hubs of hell."

When the blips were about three miles off, Turner Joy began firing, using her radar as guide, since nothing could be seen. Maddox followed suit - though her radar showed no target at all. Says Lieut. Raymond Connell, in charge of Maddox's guns: "I recall we were hopping around up there, trying to figure out what they (Turner Joy) were shooting at. We fired a lot of rounds, but it was strictly a defensive tactic." It could also have been a malfunction on the radar screen. Aircraft from the carriers Ticonderoga and Constellation were overhead by this time and saw nothing much either. However, four seamen aboard Turner Joy and one man aboard Maddox did report seeing silhouettes of a ship, and sailors said they saw a searchlight stab momentarily through the darkness. There were also sonar reports of as many as 22 torpedoes, though critics of the Pentagon pointed out that a sonarman may have mistaken the sound made by the engine of his vessel for torpedoes.

In Washington, where it was now afternoon, President Johnson met with his top advisers and the National Security Council, and began considering the possibility of an air strike against the enemy boats and their bases. Meanwhile frantic messages were asking Task Force 72.1 whether an engagement had taken place at all. "Can you confirm absolutely that you were attacked?" asked Admiral Ulysses S. Grant Sharp, Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet from Honolulu. "Can you confirm sinking of PT boats? Desire reply directly supporting evidence."

The response to these questions represents the weakest point in the Administration's case. "Review of action makes many reported contacts and torpedoes fired appear doubtful," wired Captain John Herrick, commander of the patrol. "Freak weather effects and overeager sonarman may have accounted for many reports. No actual visual sightings by Maddox, suggest complete evaluation before any further action." With access to classified information, Herrick has since changed his mind. McNamara says that he has "unimpeachable" intelligence, probably intercepted North Vietnamese radio messages, to verify independently not only that Hanoi planned an attack on the U.S. destroyers but also that it was informed of the battle's progress.

Questioning, nonetheless, was still going on even after President Johnson ordered a retaliatory attack against North Vietnam and announced shortly after 11.30pm (Washington time) on Aug. 4 that the U.S. was officially sending men into battle for the first time since the Korean War. A few minutes later, 64 jets from Ticonderoga and Constellation blasted five targets in North Vietnam.

For all the obvious doubts, neither of the sharpest of the senatorial critics of the Johnson Administration's handling of the incident - Wayne Morse and William Fulbright - questions that some sort of an engagement did take place on Aug. 4. Others are not so sure. Yet even if it is conceded that the attack did happen, many substantial questions remain unanswered. The Administration, argues Fulbright, "didn't have a clear call to war" and acted precipitately and with inadequate evidence in sending American planes to bomb North Viet Nam. Last weeks testimony strongly suggests that the Administration did indeed overreact to the Tonkin incident as such. But it treated that incident as part of the larger scene, evidently using it as a welcome excuse for launching bombers over North Vietnam. Whatever the strategic merits of attacking the North at the time - and many in the U.S. military thought them considerable - it might have been wiser to state the case frankly rather than rest it on a vulnerable pretext.



What really happened in the Tonkin Gulf during the early days of August 1964 is a question that historians may ponder for decades. All the details will probably never be established. For present-day Americans, the knowable facts are of more than academic interest, since the events of those days set off a chain reaction, beginning with the Tonkin Gulf Resolution in Congress, which has sent more than a million U.S. troops to battle in South Vietnam. The following account is based on the Defense Department's official report - much of which was secret until last week - and an exhaustive Associated Press reconstruction based on interviews with officers and enlisted men aboard the U.S.S. Maddox and Turner Joy.

Maddox, a 2,200 ton destroyer, left Yokosuka, Japan, July 23 on what seemed to be a routine mission to observe North Vietnamese naval activity in the Gulf of Tonkin. Stopping at Taiwan, she took aboard a "black box," about the size of a moving van, crammed with electronic gear, and about a dozen new men to tend its innards. What was it for? Defense Secretary Robert McNamara insisted at first that the equipment "con-

sisted in essence" of normal radio receivers that gave the ship "added capacity" to detect indications of possible attack. In testimony released at week's end, however, he admitted that, far from being routine, the electronic gear was designed to somehow "trigger" North Vietnamese radar so that the U.S. would know the frequencies of Northern radar installations. Then, in an amazing turnabout, the Navy disputed its chief, insisting that the equipment was indeed only standard gear.

With the new equipment - whatever it was - Maddox took up patrol, with orders never to venture closer than eight miles to the North Vietnamese mainland, or closer than four miles to any Northern island. How close she did go, in fact, has not been disclosed. McNamara maintains that Hanoi never officially announced its claim to a twelve-mile boundary until Sept. 1, 1964, so that, as far as the U.S. was concerned, Maddox was always within international waters.

Shortly before Maddox arrived on station, South Vietnamese patrol boats (the night of July 30-31) shelled the Northern island of Hon Me and Hon Nieu, staging points for Northern infiltration

to the South. Did Maddox help the South-ers by diverting Northern attention from the attack? McNamara says no, but he acknowledges that the U.S. was aware that the islands would be bombarded.

On the morning of Aug. 2 Maddox saw three North Vietnamese torpedo boats near Hon Me. Later that day, three PT boats closed on Maddox within clear sight of her lookouts, and kept closing, despite warning shots. The battle was on. By the time it was over, one boat was dead in the water and presumed sinking; two others were damaged by F-8 Crusader jets, called in from the U.S. aircraft carrier Ticonderoga. Maddox suffered minimal damage. The Pentagon has pictures of the action, and no one questions this part of the story. The destroyer Turner Joy, a 2,850-tonner, was sent to reinforce Maddox, and the patrol - now known grandiloquently as Task Group 72.1 - went on as before.

On Aug. 4 at 7.40 p.m., Maddox radar-men spotted what they reckoned to be five torpedo boats 36 miles to northeast. Task Group 72.1 began preparing for action.

FACTS ON VIETNAM

U.S. & War crimes

1. DEFOLIANTS

President Nixon announced on November 25, 1969, that the U.S. would never use bacteriological weapons nor initiate the use of toxic gases. Despite this the U.S. was still using 2,4,5-T, a possible birth deforming defoliant, in February this year (Australian, 5/2/70).

The effects of 2,4,5-T are similar to Thalidomide, according to a private research organisation, Bionetics Research Laboratories of New York. Professor E.W. Pfeiffer, a biologist, reports that the Health Ministry has classified the files on malformed babies as secret. (Australian, 1/12/69.)

2. ANTI-PERSONNEL BOMBS.

(From The Australian, 27/11/69, "Needle Bomb")

American B-52s operating against suspected communist guerrilla concentrations in South Vietnam have recently been using a new type of anti-personnel bomb, it was learned in Saigon today.

It sprays needle-like projectiles with lethal effect over a wide area. The metal arrows, roughly two inches long, are known as flechets and they cause terrible jagged wounds when they strike flesh and penetrate deeply. (From the London Daily Telegraph)

3. BRUTALITY

(From The Australian, 23/2/70, "Brutal Acts Every Day, Says Doctor")

A former U.S. Army doctor said yesterday that he saw American troops commit daily acts of planned or indiscriminate brutality against the Vietnamese.

Dr. Gordon Livingston, now a civilian physician at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, told a House of Representatives conference on war and national responsibility: "While providing first aid for a baby hit Viet Cong, I was told by a senior officer: 'We just need to keep him alive for a few minutes so we can question him.'"

On another occasion an intelligence officer objected to my giving morphine to a wounded prisoner, saying, 'I think they talk better when they are in a little pain'."

Dr. Livingston, who served as a major in the Bien Hoa area, described several similar incidents. He summed up by declaring the reported shooting of scores of South Vietnamese civilians by U.S. troops in My Lai was remarkable only for the magnitude of the slaughter.

"Individual acts of brutality are a daily fact of this war," he said. This was true of all wars, but there was a difference in Vietnam, he said, because there was a wide-spread pretence that such acts were not systematically occurring.

Dr. Livingston addressed the panel during a two-day conference sponsored by 10 House members.

Dr. Robert Lifton, a Yale University psychiatrist, told the group that a U.S. soldier in Vietnam came to look upon Vietnamese as non-human. This resulted from fear, rage and frustration in dealing with an almost invisible but dangerous enemy.

A keynote of the conference was the moral responsibility imposed on individuals under precedents set by the war-crimes trials in Germany and Japan.

(From The Australian, 23/2/70, "U.S. Can Massacre Without Guilt")



A sociology professor says the United States has already developed the conditions necessary for successful guilt-free massacre of most south-east Asians.

Professor Duster said. (A U.P.I. release from San Francisco.)

WHAT IS OPERATION PHOENIX?

The Phoenix Programme is highly secret operation that was set up by the CIA in 1967 (Newsweek, 12/1/70).

"A recent foreign relations committee staff report said that in 1968, under Operation Phoenix, about 15,000 Vietcong officials were neutralized - taken out of action by being killed, captured or converted to the government side. The number was described as "somewhat larger" in the first 10 months of 1969." (The Sun, 6/2/70)

"Certain men are always signed out to do the work," he said. "These men do their work, however, in the name of the society, the nation, the army, the police or the church. Thus even their extralegal actions are not pronounceable as guilty," he said.

Professor Duster, of the University of California at Berkeley, said a pronouncement of guilt "would reflect upon the organisation and its incapacity for disciplining."

"This nation has already developed the conditions necessary for successful, guilt-free massacre with respect to the Vietnamese, Laotians, Cambodians, Thais, Chinese and most other south-east Asians,"

U.S. supported corrupt regimes.

ARE U.S. SUPPORTED REGIMES IN S.E. ASIA CORRUPT?

(From the "Australian Financial Review", 26/7/70, by Frederick Nossal)

"The trouble with Asia's leaders is that they corrupt the souls of those they rule. This has been the curse of Asia for millennia.

Corruption, of course, is not peculiar to Asia.

There isn't a land or a region on earth which does not have its share of corrupt officials who somehow manage to cling to positions of power in the Armed Forces or the Civil Service.

But in few areas is corruption as widespread as in Asia because it has been a way of life for many centuries.

One of the biggest scandals in recent history was the \$30,000,000 fortune accumulated in six brief years of absolute power in Thailand by the late Marshal Sarit Thanarat who died in 1963.

In Indonesia, some units of the armed forces run their own private companies, including their own bus service, to augment their income. Troops set up special road toll stations to squeeze cash from passing motorists and truck drivers.

In South Vietnam, many officials claim they simply have no choice but to go in for bribery and graft because of the rising cost of living. In fact, it's little wonder that the Vietnam war has driven soldiers and officials to become pilferers.

A civil servant with 20 years' service, for instance, earns the equivalent of \$US85 per month.

The smarter and more attractive among the young hostesses working in the bars and red light districts ringing American bases and city areas in South Vietnam in a month can make up to \$US850 and more.

South Korea is another country where large-scale corruption is taken for granted by the business community and by the public.

But even a man of the world like President Park Chung-hee was shocked the other day when he came across a row of truly magnificent mansions along the south-eastern banks of the Han River in Seoul.

He took it for granted that the owners were wealthy South Korean businessmen, and evidently was aghast when he learned that they belonged to some of his most trusted political and administrative lieutenants.

Already the prosecutor-general in Seoul has listed 32 irregularities under which government officials with questionable integrity can be indicted, disciplined or even fired - and without incriminating evidence.

Several dozen officials of the home affairs economic planning, foreign affairs, and commerce and industry ministries are either under arrest or being questioned on bribery and graft charges. (From an article "Where Power Corrupts More Absolutely...")



FACTS ON VIETNAM

socio-economic mess



Since the 1965 American involvement in the Vietnam war, spending on defence as a percentage share of the U.S. national product has increased from 7.3 to 9.0 percent. Most of this increase (over 90%) can be shown to be a direct result of the increase in American involvement in the Vietnam war. In money terms expenditure attributable to the Vietnam war is around the U.S. \$30 billion mark per annum. This represents an expenditure of US \$1822 per annum for every south Vietnamese man woman and child.

It is not difficult to see that if even a part of this huge annual U.S. expenditure had been directed to national social and economic welfare programs, this would have benefited the South Vietnamese. Instead a substantial proportion of the money was (and still is) being directed towards the capitalistic war mongering corporations in the U.S. and to the support of the fascist puppet regime governing (?) South Vietnam.

As a consequence of the misdirection of U.S. expenditure and manpower it is difficult to identify any real indication of Socio-economic progress in South Vietnam throughout American involvement. For example since 1965, there has been a decrease of 21 per cent in the total value of agricultural production in the South Vietnamese economy. One factor which undoubtedly contributed to this fall in agricultural production was the reduction in Arable land from 2935 thousand hectares in 1965 to 2760 thousand hectares in 1967 (later figures unavailable). This directly effected rice production which fell from 4822 to 4688 thousand metric tons during the period. Also sugar production decreased from 1093 to 779 thousand metric tons in the period.

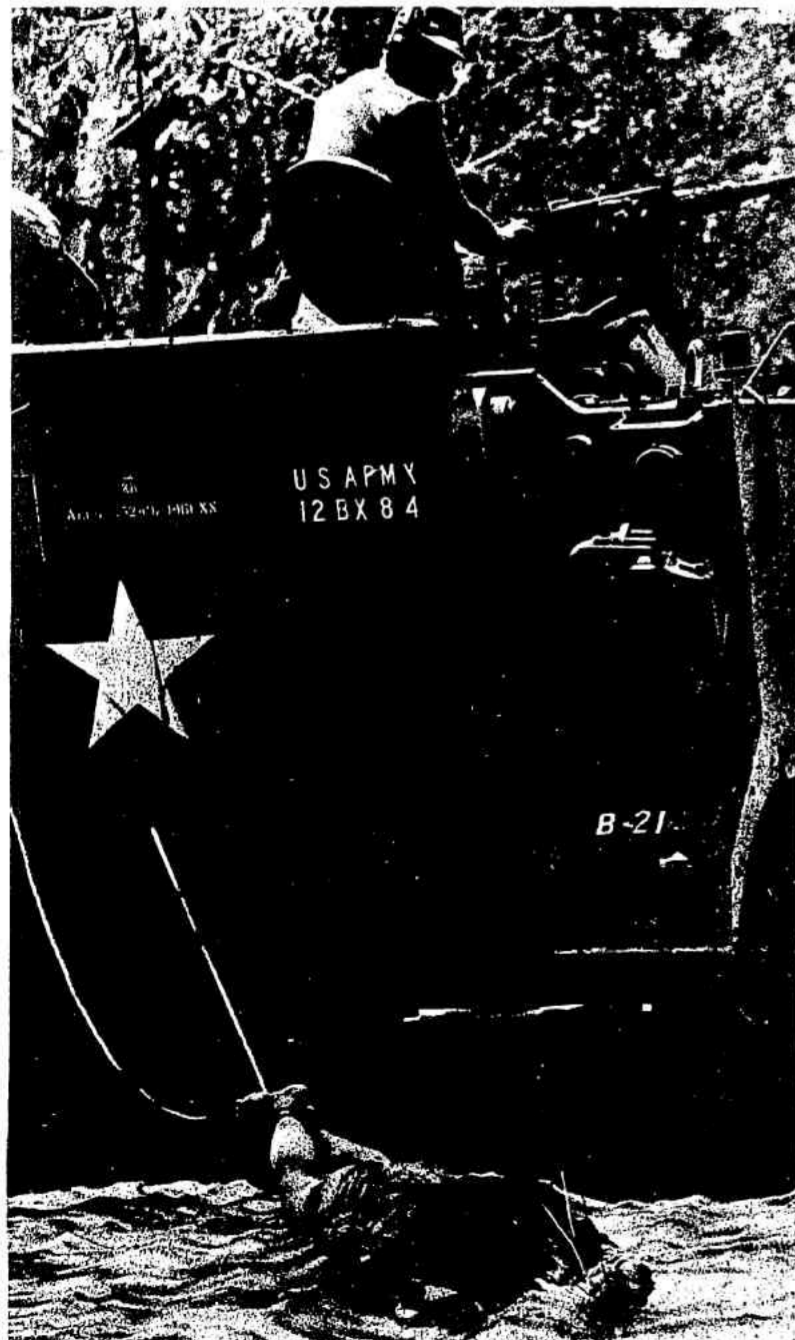
If we look at the effect of the artificial increase in demand for goods and services in the Vietnamese Economy since 1965,

the plight of the people looks even more disastrous. There has been a sharp rise of 82 per cent per annum in the consumer price index. With the money wage of the unskilled worker only rising at a rate of 60 per cent per annum. That is in terms of real purchasing power the Vietnamese people are significantly worse off now than they were before U.S. involvement. The rise in food prices has been the main factor responsible for the sharp rise in the consumer price index. Food prices have been rising at a rate of 91 per cent per annum. This had been due to the decrease in the output of rice and other foods of which south Vietnam was a net exporter. Thanks to the U.S. and allied involvement South Vietnam is now a net importer of rice.

In common with other less developed countries in the South-east asian region South Vietnam has balance of trade problems. However the situation in South Vietnam is chronic with the annual deficit of exports minus imports hovering around - U.S. \$500 million. In addition to this large deficit, the terms of trade have been moving against South-Vietnam. In 1964 the terms of trade was 105.5 and by 1967 it had moved to 79.8 (again later figures unavailable).

It would seem reasonable to assume that one of the chief aims of the American Government should be to increase the Social and economic welfare of the Vietnamese people, leading to a form of economic stability and self-sufficiency. Surely the fulfillment of these underlying conditions would be of immense value in trying to achieve political representation and stability for the peoples of Vietnam. However the Americans do not seem to be interested in spending their US\$1822 per head per annum in anyway that is advantageous to economic and social stability of the Vietnamese People.

Richard Whitnell



backgound information

1. Number of troops in South Vietnam:

ARVN (South Vietnam)	1,200,00**	Nat'l Liberation Front (Vietcong)	150,000 (max)
United States	479,500*	North Vietnam	100,000*
"Free World" (Korea, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand.)	70,200*		

2. Number of Casualties:

Military:		Civilian:	
U.S. troops		South Vietnamese	
killed in action	39,642*	Killed	300,000
noncombat deaths	7,040*	wounded	700,000
wounded	259,828*	(Estimate by Sen. E. Kennedy, Chm. Sen. Subcom. on Refugees, Dec. 2, '69)	
ARVN troops		North Vietnamese unknown, but	
killed in action	98,016*	estimated to be very high because of intensive bombing for	
"Enemy"		nearly four years, Feb. 1965-	
killed in action	577,445*	Nov. 1968.	

3. U.S. Military Spending: (in millions)

	1968	1967	1966	1965
Current military activities	\$80,713	\$87,606	\$76,075	\$54,047
Cost of past wars (veterans)	7,226	6,961	6,928	5,916
Cost of nat'l debt (more than 75% war created)	15,257	14,306	12,802	11,551

Cost of Vietnam War to the United States is now more than \$100 billion. Current rate of spending is approximately \$2 billion per month.

More than one trillion dollars (\$1,000,000,000,000) has been spent by the U.S. government for military activities in the search for security since World War II.

* U.S. Department of Defense figures as of December 5, 1969.

** Sen. Frank Church, based on Defence Department briefings; Pentagon figure is "900,000 plus."

4. AUSTRALIAN STATISTICS

a. To March 14, 1970; 400 killed, 2473 wounded.

b. Maxwell Newton, "Incentive", Dec. 15, 1969:

"From the beginning of Australian involvement to June 30, 1968, the total monetary cost to Australia covering operations by the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force was \$76,354 million. For the financial year 1968-9, the cost exceeded \$42,984 million. These amounts represented the excess over normal costs in Australia for the three services."



WHITLAM — ON WITHDRAWAL

HANSARD, April 22, 1970

Five years ago Sir Robert Menzies justified the commitment on 1 great ground: The war in Vietnam, he claimed, was part of the downward thrust of China between the Indian and the Pacific Oceans. Subsequently the justification has been narrowed to 'teaching North Vietnam that aggression could not succeed'. All along it has been these false interpretations of the nature of the conflict in Indo-China that have trapped us into false responses foredoomed to failure.

Tonight the Prime Minister has done nothing to dispel the aura of unreality which has for so long vitiated his Government's policies. In particular, there is the same refusal to grasp the implications of President Nixon's statement yesterday that characterised his refusal to admit the full implications of President Johnson's crucial statement of 31st March 1968. The crux of President Nixon's statement is that, irrespective of military events in Indo-China, irrespective of progress in Paris, American disengagement is irreversible. Despite the deterioration of the situation in Indo-China the process of disengagement is being speeded up. The kernel of the President's statement is this plain, specific fact that a further 150,000 combat troops are to be withdrawn within a year. The manner the President chose to present this fact to the American public does not alter its meaning, and the full impact of its meaning can be measured when set against the terrible tragic events in other parts of Indo-China in the past month. What the President has admitted by his action transcends his explanation of his action. He has admitted that the whole Vietnam venture has been a terrible and tragic mistake - that is the real meaning of his statement. The whole and sole purpose of American policy is to extricate the United States from that mistake.

The situation in Indo-China is far too serious for the injection of exercises in

self justification such as the Prime Minister indulged in tonight. It is all very well for him to state that our policy in Vietnam has succeeded: Let those believe it who choose. Yet there is a real menace in these efforts to depict Vietnam as a success. It is not just a distortion of history; it is a refusal to learn the lessons of Vietnam. If you claim that you have succeeded in Vietnam, if you assert that your objectives are being achieved, then you are in fact justifying in advance a repetition of Vietnam. Why would one choose to abandon successful methods? This is a dangerous delusion. God knows, the United States, the people of Indo-China, have paid, are paying a terrible enough price for the lessons of Vietnam. Are we to refuse to learn them in order to save somebody's political skin? It is time to end trying to save face and start trying to save lives.

There is a fearful symmetry about the 5 years of Government pronouncements about Vietnam. They began with pretences and they are ending tonight with pretences. On 29th April 1965 we had the pretence that our involvement was required by our obligations under the South East Asia Treaty Organisation. We had the further pretence that our commitment was a simple response to a simple request from the then Government of one Dr. Quat, the tenth Prime Minister to succeed the assassinated President Diem. Tonight we have the pretence that the reduction in our commitment is related to developments in South Vietnam and in particular in the province of Phuoc Tuy where our troops have been engaged for 4 years. Yet everyone knows that what was said in Canberra tonight was contingent solely on what was said at San Clemente yesterday. Let us drop the pretence that this is an independent decision reached on the basis of the military situation in Phuoc Tuy or the political situation in South Vietnam as a whole. This announcement has come not because we are 'Vietnamising' Phuoc Tuy

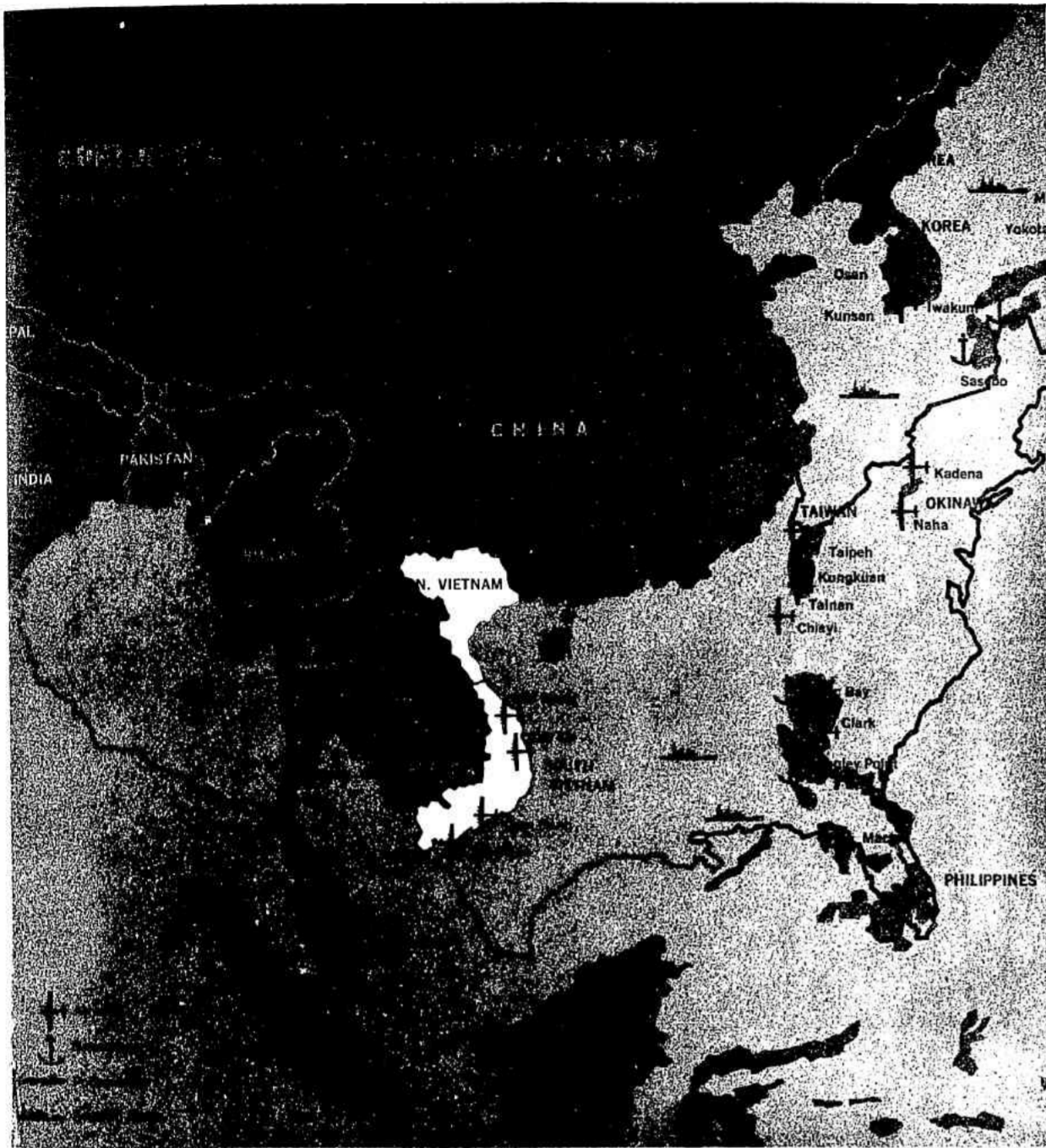


but because we are following America in de-Americanising Vietnam. The Minister for External Affairs (Mr. McMahon) himself twice gave the show away when he was overseas last week. In Bangkok he said:
Australia will announce a partial pull-out of its troops in South Vietnam if President Nixon gives a specific withdrawal figure on Thursday.
He continued:
If the United States does not pull out Australia will follow the negative move.

Then he went to Saigon itself where the following exchange occurred:
Question: Did South Vietnamese leaders bring up the question of Australian troop withdrawals?
Answer: No, they did not.
Question: Did you volunteer your views?
Answer: I did have a long talk, a very long talk, with President Thieu and I did inform him that I was not aware of President Nixon's decision. I didn't know. But I did confirm and he already knew it so it wasn't necessary for me to confirm it, that we would take action in certain contingencies. He accepted that fact. He knew about it.

It is only if we grasp this fact - that the decisions by this Government have nothing to do with the real situation in Indo-China - that we can explain why the Government now thinks it is possible to reduce the commitment piecemeal when that was supposed to be totally impossible and irresponsible only a few months ago. Right up to the eve of the October election the Prime Minister held to the line that 'when and if an Australian withdrawal occurred it would be 1 out all out'. In his last television broadcast before the pre-election shut-down, he said:
The size and composition of the Australian ground forces in Vietnam is such that it would not be possible to have a phased withdrawal.

The Prime Minister had developed and



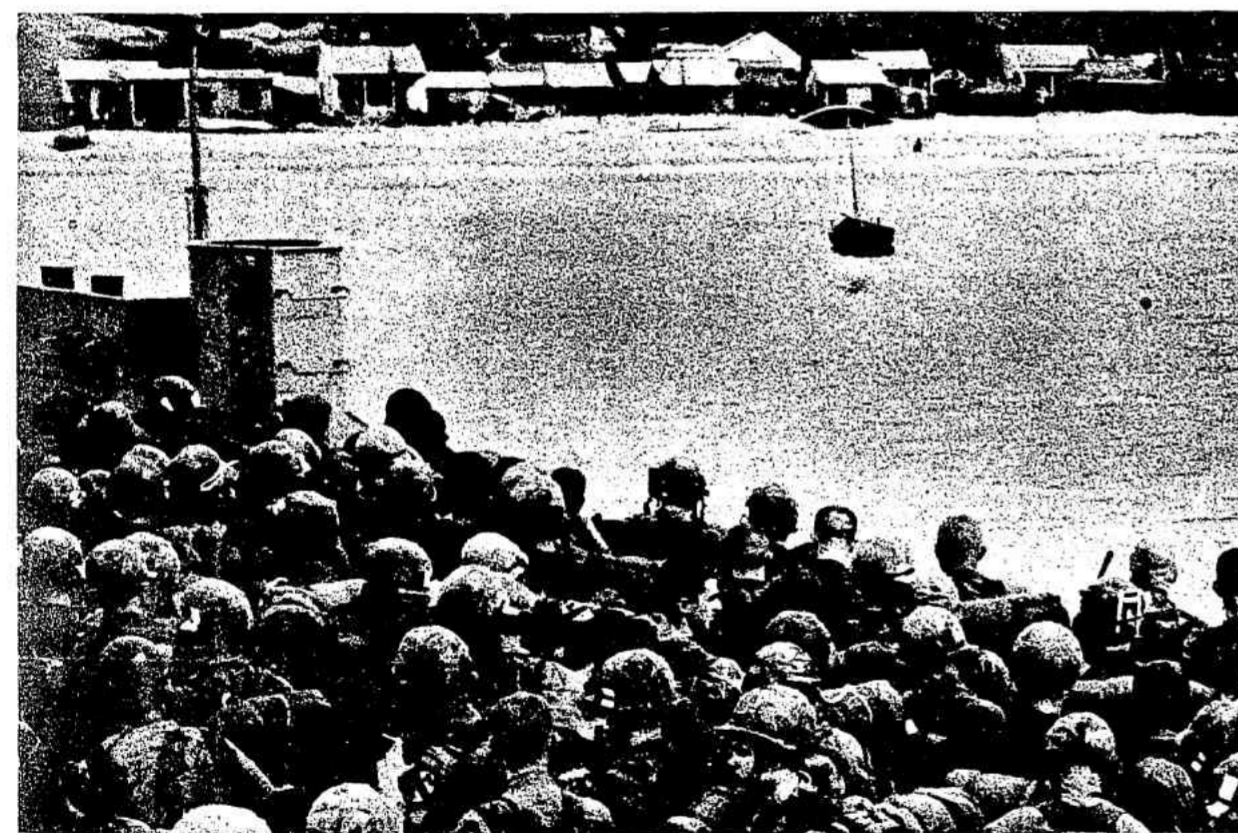
would have to decide whether we left troops there or not. Now all the things that the Prime Minister said were hypothetical last year are happening this year. These events have been set in train irreversibly. The time has come. The people of Australia, not least Australia's armed forces in Vietnam, are entitled to know why the untenable last year is now not only tenable but, according to the Government, desirable. Conversely and more directly, why is the undertaking of one out all out not being honoured? Some are to come out. Why not all? The question further arises of the Prime Minister's integrity in making the statements that he did last year. Was it the considered view of the Cabinet? Was it the view of our commanders in Phuoc Tuy? Or was it merely a cheap riposte to Labor's proposal to achieve a phased withdrawal in 3 stages by June this year using the method of non-replacement as the serving battalions completed their tours. Whatever his motives, the people were entitled to believe, presumably did believe, that it was meant seriously and sincerely. So were the troops and their relatives entitled to take it seriously. It was a statement of policy - not just a single statement but statement after statement by the Prime Minister of this country. What has invalidated it? Why has this undertaking been dishonoured? It is just part and parcel of the deceit and deception that has characterised the Liberals and particularly the Liberal leadership throughout this tragic and disastrous chapter.

There is indeed only one bright feature in the whole of that commitment and that is the conduct of the men of the armed forces themselves. They have done their duty - have done it in the first war in Australian history opposed always by a substantial section of the Australian people and now by a majority of the Australian people. In the light of the undertakings given by the Prime Minister last year and in the light of his statement to-night it is intolerable that they should be called upon for further sacrifices in so discredited and disastrous a cause.

So far as Australia is concerned this war has become solely the war of a political Party - the Liberal Party. It is no longer possible to depict or defend this war in terms of the freedom of the Vietnamese people or the people of Indo-China, a war for freedom or for democracy, a war against China or a war to maintain the American alliance, or any of the other definitions which have been used to extenuate and extend our commitment. It is the war of a Party; it is not the war of this nation.

The untenability, the intolerability of the Government's position is intensified by its refusal to back negotiations, to which the Prime Minister did not refer. The Prime Minister instantly rubbished the French proposals. The President of the United States welcomes not only the French but the Russian proposals. It is part of a pattern of performance by this Government over 5 years. Sir Robert Menzies wanted to be the last Prime Minister to denounce negotiations. His successor supported the elements in the Johnson Administration who insisted on continuing the bombing. The present Prime Minister has disparaged peace talks time and time again. The Government has backed every move for the escalation of the war and resisted every move to limit it or end it. The result of its policy of prolongation has been that the whole of Indo-China is now engulfed in civil and racial war.

Tonight the Prime Minister said that Hanoi was responsible for the failure of negotiations. It is idle, in the context of what is now happening in Indo-China, to think that one has solved the problem by apportioning blame. The blunt unpalatable fact is that you cannot talk to North Vietnam if she were on her knees. None of us like the fact, but fact it is, that we are not in a position to stipulate prior conditions. The difficulty of bringing about meaningful negotiations is not an argument for refusing to try. Geneva in 1954 and 1962, and Panmunjom in 1954, took months and years. We have to face that fact that any negotiations will be about a war in which there are no victors, no vanquished, only survivors. War is hell but the longer this war is prolonged the further it expands, the more certain it is that the peace, too, will be held because it will be the peace of death.



reiterated this argument throughout last year. On 6th July he said, also on television:

I think that the suggestion of phasing down the Australian contribution of infantrymen and artillery men and people driving tanks which is somewhere around 8,000 - not quite 8,000 men - I think the suggestion of phasing that down is scarcely tenable. The force was built up to 3 battalions with its artillery and with its tanks because that was a viable force. You could have 2 battalions in the field and 1 resting and that gave you much more capacity than if you had only 2 battalions there because you could only have 1 in the field and 1 resting. Although it may mathematically sound as if it is only twice as good, in fact it is

better than twice as good. So you would be very very much cutting down the military capacity of the force there and of course, I would think you would be increasing the danger to the ones that remained there if you didn't have a self-contained viable force.

So the question would rather be, if it arose, whether we should have troops-ground troops - there or whether we should not.

And then he was asked: 'Would we scale down comparable, that was really the question', and he replied: 'I think not scale down. I think a time would have to come - I don't foresee it - but it would have to come when if there was a great... and continuing American withdrawal, we

question of legitimacy

HUMPHREY McQUEEN

The legitimacy of the Thieu-Ky clique in Saigon rests on the 1967 election. An examination of these elections will show: how phoney this legitimacy is and will also destroy the Governmental claptrap about defending democracy in Vietnam. Three things will be argued in order to show the invalid nature of the 1967 elections.

Firstly, that the uses to which elections had been put in the past had destroyed the credibility of the electoral process for the Vietnamese. Space will not permit this to be detailed. There is, however, overwhelming evidence for the fraudulent nature of Democracy from 1955 to 1963. (1) Dragon lady Nhu, for instance, obtained 99.8% of the votes in her districts in elections held at the height of the Buddhist crisis of 1963. Elections under Diem were nothing more than exercises in official vote-catching.

Free and fair elections in 1967 were undermined from the start because the condition of participant credibility in the purpose of the electoral process had been destroyed by the malfeasance of succeeding politico-military directorates. Even if Thieu and Ky had been honest they would have had great difficulty in convincing the population that they were any different from their predecessors.

Secondly, constitutional, legal, administrative and party structures were almost entirely absent.

The Constitution of the Second Republic of Vietnam was ratified on 18 March, 1967. An article of the Constitution provided that the Constituent Assembly should become a Provisional Legislative Assembly with powers to pass three laws dealing with the conduct of the coming elections, the lifting of press censorship and the establishment of political parties. It completed only the first of these before it broke up for lack of a quorum. In other words, the elections were held without the laws which the Constitution had demanded.

In terms of political practice the Constitution is of secondary importance to the Electoral Law. The ruling clique won its vital ruling here on 9 May 1967 when the Assembly rejected a proposal for a run-off election and refused to set a minimum percentage of the total vote that a candidate would have to receive in order to be elected. As it turned out this was crucial since Thieu and Ky received only 35% of the votes cast; and at the time of the decision they were competing for that percentage. If the Assembly had opted for a run-off election the Generals would have had to have acted more forcefully during the campaign. Instead, it was divide et impera.

The final decision as to which candidates would be permitted to stand for election was also in the hands of the Provisional Legislative Assembly, which sent a representative to the Central Electoral Committee where the most serious breaches of democratic practice took place in the elimination of candidates. So intense was Government pressure on this committee that the Assembly's representative resigned. Of the eighteen candidates who offered only eleven were permitted to contest the elections. Of the disallowed candidates, the one who was most likely to succeed was General Duong Van Minh who had led the coup against Diem. Former Economic Minister Au Truong Thanh was eliminated on the charge that he was pro-communist: this unsubstantiated allegation was made by Diop Van Hung whose export business Au Truong had shut down for illegal transactions. (International Herald Tribune, 19 July 1967)

Thirdly, that the actual conduct of the election and its campaign were marked by force and malpractice.

Force was employed by the Generals in securing their victory. They used it against the Constituent Assembly so that the Constitution and the Electoral Law would be written the way they wanted - in particular, to prevent a run-off election. Force was used to ensure the elimination of candidates, and civilian nominees reported that their supporters were terrorised and arrested.

But in a society torn by war, force does not have to be made explicit to have its effect since it is already the first fact of life. There is no need to remind people how they are governed. In the words of Frantz Fanon:

The colonial world is...cut in two. The dividing line, the frontiers are shown by barracks and police stations... The policeman and the soldier ... are the official instituted go-betweens... by their immediate presence and frequent and direct action (they) maintain contact with the native and advise him by means of rifle-butts and napalm.... It is obvious that the agents of the government speak the language of pure force. The intermediary does not lighten the oppression, nor seek to hide the domination; he shows them up and puts them into practice with the clear conscience of an upholder of the peace; yet he is the bringer of violence into the home and into the mind of the native.

Concomitant with perpetual violence goes the undermining of the structures of civil society. The generals were assisted by the lack of social cohesiveness in Vietnam as much as by any other factor. Low though its morale may have been, the ARVN was the only grouping (apart from the NLF) with sufficient organisational strength to conduct a nation-wide campaign. The generals used force to secure the conditions they needed to make



its further use unnecessary. Force, applied at the right time, enabled the Generals to conduct "a free election without any danger of their opponents winning."

What happened in South Vietnam on 3 September 1967 was the same as if there were an election in Australia where no one in a Labor-held electorate was allowed to vote, where no one who was a member of the A.L.P. could nominate, and where one third of the Government's own supporters, including two ex-cabinet ministers, were considered too dangerous to be permitted to stand. Not even a South Australian Liberal would consider that a free election. Yet it is precisely what happened in South Vietnam. The real election took place in a room in Saigon when the Generals chose Thieu as their candidate.

Humphrey McQueen,
History Department
School of General Studies. 20/4/70.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Robert Scigliano, Vietnam, Nation Under Stress (Houghton-Mifflin, Boston 1963)

The most important elections in Vietnam's history were never held. These were the reunification elections scheduled for 1956 under Section 7 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference in 1954. The blame for not holding these elections rests entirely with the United States as is demonstrated in Franklin B. Weinstein's Vietnam's Unheld Elections, Data Paper: Number 60 (Cornell S-E Asia Program, New York, 1966)

(2) For further detail of this and for the prospects of ending the war by free elections see my article "Vietnam: Villagers and Voters", Australian Quarterly, December, 1968.



When I speak of the Pacific Rim, I am putting the broadest possible construction on the term - the western coasts of South America, Central America and our own continent and extending to Australia and beyond to the Far East and India. There is no more vast or rich area for resource development of trade growth in the world today than this immense region, and it is virtually our own front yard. . . I emphasize that this is a largely underdeveloped area, yet an area rich in an immense variety of resources and potential capabilities. Were we Californian businessmen to play a more dynamic role in helping trade development in the Pacific Rim, we would have giant, hungry new markets for our products and vast new profit potentials for our firms.
 - *Rudolph A. Peterson, President, Bank of America in California Business Magazine, Sept.-Oct, 1968.*

Two of the most explosive statistics in the world today are the following: current world armament expenditure is equal to one-half of all capital investment in the world and equal to two-thirds of the total national income of all the underdeveloped countries.

But these statistics are closely related to others of American origin. More than 60 per cent of the Federal U.S. government budget is spent on arms and war-contracts. The relationship is a close one because of the "domino" effect of U.S. arms production. Once arms production accelerates in the U.S.A. it proliferates inexorably through the international system, compelling other countries to enter a competitive arms race.

In practice, this pulls the underdeveloped nations into the U.S. sphere of operations. An important aspect here is the consequent gearing of the production of underdeveloped countries to the level of U.S. military spending. Thus aggregate military demand of industrial countries (a major part of which is U.S. demand) accounts for 14.7 per cent of total world nickel supply, 9.4 per cent of Lead-Zinc supply, 8.3 per cent of petroleum crudes, 9.3 per cent of tin and so on.

The U.S.A. now spends more than 10 per cent of the gross domestic product on arms and 58.3 per cent of its gross domestic fixed capital formation. This has led to a description of the U.S.A. today as a "permanent arms economy."

One implication of this could be that Lenin was wrong to call imperialism the "highest stage of capitalism." The permanent arms economy dominated by U.S. international corporations and administered by what President Eisenhower called the "industrial - military complex" now emerges as the highest stage of capitalism - although it by no means precludes the landing of marines, setting-up of colonies, and military adventures characteristic of "classical" imperialism.

What are the dynamics of the new system and to what extent are contradictions within U.S. capitalism mitigated by the new developments? The following points suggest themselves:

1. Recent upsurges in economic growth in the U.S. economy have been caused not so much by the "planning" activities of Big Business and government (as claimed by J.K. Galbraith in *The New Industrial State*), but by the dominant role of the arms economy; (as shown in M. Kidron's *World Capitalism Since The War*);
2. Arms productions (and all the auxiliary and ancillary industries which go with it) does not appear as end-goods on the market. Looked at from the viewpoint of society as a whole, rather than from the viewpoint of the individual arms producers the arms-economy removes through its growth, an increasing part of the "end" goods which would otherwise need to be sold.
3. Arms production is the key offset to the tendency of the rate of profit to fall;
4. Arms production, however, does not reduce the rate of exploitation of workers; it does not do away with the need for a faster growth of surplus. For, to cope with the expense of arms production (which is raised by the government through corporation taxes), more equipment per worker is needed to get more relative surplus value out of living labour

(to use Marx's expression);

5. At this point contradictions emerge, for the arms economy produces a rise in prices: to maintain profit margins and pay higher taxes, corporations raise prices. And this rise of prices must exceed wage rises, for if this were not the case, profits would diminish. Ultimately the inflation produced by this process must be checked by credit squeeze, recession and the deliberate creation of a pool of unemployed.

6. Moreover, the arms economy cannot be a permanent stabiliser of the internal economy of "high - imperialism" while it sets of the internal destabilisation involved in the arms race. The new system produces its own new contradictions. Thus the attempt at "stabilisation" by widening the amount of "production" (bombs, gas, chemicals, napalm) that can be dropped on other people (Vietnam, Colombia) in order to "offset" the amount of surplus private capital in the USA is itself offset by the chronic inflation and the need to stop it by recession policies. For to protect the value of the dollar both internally and externally requires the deliberate creation of unemployment. In today's America that means black unemployment, negro unemployment, because when the statistics show that 7 per cent of Americans are unemployed, they disguise the fact that 25 per cent of blacks are unemployed. This creates violent social tension and conflict - especially with a large number of Negroes returning from Vietnam with a knowledge of killing, and, in many cases, with the guns to carry out violence.

The permanent arms economy and the pacific rim strategy

Bruce McFarlane

At the head of the arms economy stand the US multi-national corporations. By 1985, it is forecast, 60 of these companies (50 of them American) will produce a quarter of world production. That is where the "Pacific Rim" strategy comes in. Beginning on the mainland of Asia, these corporations are in the vanguard of the movement for rationalisation and extension of the Pacific market, and are beginning to systematize and integrate the complex web of bilateral, multilateral and regional alliances which have been constructed in the Pacific.

The formulation of the Pacific Rim strategy altered the role assigned to Vietnam. In 1966 the U.S. saw Vietnam as another Greece or Korea. Upon successful completion of pacification, US capital would move in and "reconstruct" the country by tying it to the US international market. American corporations as well as banks were already staking out their claims. Standard Oil, Caltex and Shell, for example, were working on a \$19 m. refinery. Vietnam was being considered as more than a market for US investments and a place where American-owned subsidiaries would purchase goods from parent plants in the US. By reconstructing agriculture, Vietnam could resume its special role in the region by supplying rice to countries with food shortages.

The TET offensive of 1968 wrecked these plans by driving the US out of the countryside and into a few cities and fortified bases. But the US had no intention of withdrawing. Although the US is militarily incapable of pacifying Vietnam, it will accept second best Vietnam, if it cannot be a politico - economic unit integrated into the Pacific economy, will be developed as a military outpost, a key base in the defence perimeter which runs along the edge of the Asian continent and is anchored in South Korea and Vietnam.

Former special assistant to the Secretary of State, Graham Martin, has described the US as creating a "protective screen" in S.E. Asia. Bases like Cam Ranh Bay, recognised by all observers as a permanent facility, will anchor this screen.

The Pacific Rim strategy deserves close scrutiny. At the core of the system, as the U.S. military - industrial complex sees it are the advanced industrial nations - Japan the U.S. and the three industrializing nations, Australia and New Zealand. The US and Japan stand at the apex of the hierarchy of Pacific economic development. They draw their resources from the next tier; Australia and New Zealand: raw materials and agricultural goods, while selling goods to these markets.

Australia is then a leading accomplice in US plans. So is Japan. If we are not "Yanked" into war we will be "Nipped" into war. That is the reality. Australia is no longer, (if it ever was) a helpless economic colony of US and British imperialism. It is part of that imperialism - an important aggressive outpost. To oppose that role means to oppose the Pacific Rim strategy. It means full support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people. In a way they are fighting a battle for Australians, as well as for themselves.





THE IMPERATIVES OF

michael kahan

CONSCRIPTION

Once upon a time there was a democracy. It was based on the inalienable rights of men, the assurance of domestic tranquility and the securing of liberty for posterity. Two years later it sent the following letter to one of its citizens:

To Mr. James Cook, Sir, with the advice of the military officers select men and committee of this town you are draughted to do eight months service in the Continental Army from this date; and you are to furnish yourself for camp and be in readiness forthwith to muster and to march when and where ordered or otherwise you are to pay a fine of fifteen pounds in twenty four hours from the time of your being draughted ... (New Salem, 1778)

and ever since some rights of men have been alienable.

Moral: Wholuntary army has to conscripts there's bound to be trouble in a couple of centuries.

You can, eh, fool most of the people most time. But a fundamental of primary democracy is that it must be right people in order to do it. At the present time in the United States, the government's full-time to fool enough 19 to 20 year olds to keep the Vietnam war going. This, it perpetrates many myths most fantastic of which is that government has the inalienable to conscript men to fight for duty.

The logic of government's argument something like this: since we are society, we must make sure everyone goes with us; to make sure they will force young men to give up democratic rights so we can impose order on other peoples. Oh, if God has told you it's wrong, you can be excused, but if you get out of it by appealing your own rights or liberties, be sure know that a lot of rubbish us cowards and traitors.

Fantastic? Of course it is, but we're all governed by this logic. More fantastic is that most of us allow it to continue. Occasionally someone sees through it and says "NO, I will not be the cannon fodder for your hypocrisy". One such is quoted below:

...when a sixth of the population of a nation which has undertaken to be the refuge of liberty are slaves, and a whole country is unjustly overrun and conquered by a foreign army, and subjected to military law, I think it is not too soon for honest men to rebel and revolutionize. What makes this duty the more urgent is the fact that the country so overrun is not our own, but ours is the invading army.

Those words were written by Henry David Thoreau at the time of the war between Mexico and the United States in the late 1840's, but they could well have been written yesterday about the war in Vietnam. The logic of the State is still there, and the prescription for solution is, if anything, more imperative.

The Vietnam war has exposed the true principles of democracy in the United States and Australia. But the mask of tyranny has not been completely torn off. These States still speak in the name of the people, and they still depend on the consent of those they govern for legitimacy. True, the parliamentary leaders employ demagogery and fear tactics to ensure this consent, but they at least feel it is still necessary. Thus, it is still possible to undermine their authority by withdrawing consent.

The Vietnam war has brought the United States and Australia to a crisis point of legitimacy. These governments are faced with increasing numbers of citizens who demand an

end to the war in Vietnam; yet they are still able to drag enough young men into their armies to continue the invasion. If these young men were to refuse, if they were to join the masses who are saying NO, then the last straw of legitimacy will have slipped through the fingers of the government.

There are counterarguments. It has been said that the government knows what is best, that we elect them to govern and we can unelect them if we want, and that the army makes a man of you. Each of these arguments must, and can, be met, even though none of them deals with the matter immediately at hand: the simple facts are that millions of people have been killed, wounded and made homeless between elections; the governments of the United States and Australia have admitted their error, and their defeat in battle, by withdrawing troops while still clinging to their discredited objectives in Vietnam; finally, killing machines are not men.

Future killing machines can exhibit their manhood by refusing those who would exploit their minds and their bodies, by defying authority in the name of liberty, and by accepting the consequences of their acts in order to secure this liberty for posterity.

The Kingdom of Laos, which has a population just under 3,000,000 and an area about the same as Great Britain's, has hardly seen a day of complete peace since before the Second World War. Few countries have been more caught up in the diplomatic and military games of larger powers and been more defenceless in determining their own future. International conferences, in particular those of Geneva in 1954 and 1962, have set up neutral governments in Laos and declared that foreign powers should abstain from sending troops or arms into the country, but genuine neutrality has been evasive and foreign intervention persisted on an ever larger scale.

After the Geneva agreements of 1962 were signed, many observers in the West believed that the coalition government set up as a result would favour the Communist side and lead eventually to a Communist victory. However, the common cry that negotiations tend to favour the Communists is utterly misplaced in this instance. The fact is that the Communists had just won a dramatic military victory before the conference through the seizure of the important base at Nam Tha in the north-west. Though the significance of their defeat was not lost on the right wing and neutralists, they succeeded in taking virtually all the important posts in the coalition government and it soon became clear that Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist premier, would lean strongly towards the Americans. So geared against them did the government seem that the Communist Pathet Lao saw no point in continuing their participation in it and withdrew from the coalition. Their success in extending political influence in the rural areas would surely have been achieved whatever the nature of the central government in the capital, Vientiane.

As it turned out, the agreements of 1962 at first favoured the anti-Communist side militarily as well. With American

LAOS

CONZ

support in advice, bombs and arms, the right wing and neutralists captured and occupied territory held by the Pathet Lao at the time of the 1962 agreements. Only recently has this situation changed with the influx of large numbers of North Vietnamese troops and the increased military effectiveness of those already there. Recent gains by the Communists, who have made about as little attempt at the U.S. to observe the military terms of the 1962 accords, have for the first time made their military position more favourable than it was in 1962.

Unfortunately for Laos, its importance for both sides depends largely on its geographic position bordering on Vietnam. The famous Ho Chi Minh trail runs through the country, and the efforts of the North Vietnamese to bring men and supplies down the trail to the South has attracted heavy American bombing. Since November 1968, the bombs which once fell on North Vietnam have been diverted to Laos which has become the most intensely bombed country in history. More recently, B 52's have been flying missions over areas of the country other than the Ho Chi Minh trail. The neutralist government has watched and even encouraged the devastation of its country, and done nothing to prevent the continuation of the bombing.

Just as in Vietnam, this mass destruction has produced social problems, the most serious being the so-called refugees. The word implies that these displaced persons are fleeing from political oppression by the Communists. In fact, most of

them are evacuated by the Americans from places where bombing is planned, and when they flee freely, it is from U.S. bombs rather than the Communists. The American tactic is to destroy the rural social base which is the Communists' greatest strength.

Some American senators and others have expressed dismay at the widening of the war in Laos. Well may they be worried. On 19 April, the U.S. government, under great pressure from the critics, published details of the war which its embassy in Vientiane had been secretly conducting since 1964. There may be very few American ground combat troops in Laos, but the U.S. initiative behind the war against the Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese can no longer be doubted. Moreover, the secrecy in which the whole affair has been shrouded must arouse serious misgivings about the intentions of the American government. It is all very well for the U.S. to condemn the other side for breaking the Geneva agreements (most other people condemn the infringements too), but their attitude is surely somewhat sanctimonious when they themselves are breaking the accords seriously and secretly.

American technology can sustain a kind of computerized air war for a long time. Combat troops are not necessary to keep it going. Laotians will die in large numbers or see their lives ruined, but this is unlikely to trouble the power-holders in Washington unless strong political pressure is brought to bear against them. The situation becomes more horrific every day, and it is up to the ordinary person to take any action he can to persuade both sides to negotiate a settlement which allows all parties a fair representation in the government. If there is no other way out, the U.S. should let the Communists take over. They could not be worse than Souvanna Phouma and his corrupt entourage. As far as the common man is concerned, they would certainly be a great deal better

MACKEERAS



CONFESSIONS

Robert Duffield

FOREIGN EDITOR
australian

One of the hardest things in the world is to admit you are wrong. That applies to nations as much as it does to people, except that it is even harder for nations to admit it.

Because it is so hard for big nations to make that admission, it is equally difficult for we smaller countries to make the psychological breakthrough necessary for genuinely new policies. It takes traumatic events, within or without, to achieve that. Especially in Vietnam.

It is now becoming clear that all the traumatic events of the past two-and-a-bit years - starting with the Tet offensive of February 1968, proceeding through President Johnson's abdication speech of the following March 31, going on to President Nixon's plans to slash the American troop commitment to Vietnam from one half to one quarter of a million men over a space of two years - have not achieved this breakthrough.

In America and in Australia, dissent which was once called treason is now considered so respectable that radicals find it necessary to embrace extremes to make themselves heard. But, as in censorship, the basic policy still holds. In Sydney you're considered mature enough to watch the cast of Hair expose their persons and shout fuckity-fuckity-fuck, but not mature enough to read Myra Breckenridge or to see certain momentary snippets from Easy Rider or Zabriske Point.

That's how it is with Indo-China. Despite all the concessions to reality made first by Johnson and then by Nixon, U.S. policy is still beset by the same moral hang-ups it started out with. And these ARE moral hang-ups, not crimes attributable simply to U.S. imperialism and the military-industrial complex. According to an impeccably impartial authority, it was the U.S. industrial establishment's disaffection with the Vietnam war which helped decide Mr. Johnson's March 31

abdication speech. Lucrative defence contracts are one thing; the threat of uncontrollable domestic inflation is another.

No, you can't blame American thinking on its industrial warmongers. That thinking is still bound up in the simple morality which Dean Rusk espoused - and sincerely believed in - from 1965 onwards. It said:

THERE is an international communist conspiracy to take over nations in the world. What Hanoi is doing in South Vietnam is part of this international conspiracy.

AMERICA, as the champion of liberty, must oppose any attempt by one nation to impose its will on a weaker one. That is why America fought Hitler. That is why America must fight Ho Chi Minh.

Mr. Rusk believed in this simplistic morality, and it was his insistent hammering of truths which were no longer self-evident which gave the anti-war movement in America its initial impetus.

The Kennedy team put an intellectual refinement on these moral truths called "flexible response." This highly-sophisticated technique stopped the Cuba missile crisis short of nuclear war, and has for years governed the strategic planning of NATO. But it is based on the same two moral criteria, and this was its downfall.

John Kennedy had tried and proved the strategy of flexible response in Cuba in 1962. It was only afterwards that he really came to grips with the Vietnam problem, and when he did he and his advisers decided that flexible response should work there too.

From the start, then, America went into Vietnam in the belief that a measure of force applied now, with the implicit threat of more force later, would force

Ho to capitulate with honour as it had forced Khrushchev to capitulate with honour.

Flexible response was a humane and highly rational approach designed to prevent any war from developing into the holocaust threatened by its predecessor - the Eisenhower-Dulles strategy of massive retaliation. It should, in theory, have persuaded North Vietnam to ease up while the going was good.

But the premises on which it was based, while applicable to Cuba and NATO, just did not apply in the Asian situation. This was because Hanoi did not share or understand either Western morals or Western rationale.

By Rusk's moral standards, Hanoi could not but admit to itself, it only in private, that it was an immoral aggressor. And, by the standards of the Kennedys and Robert McNamara, Ho Chi Minh just had to be smart enough to realise and respond to the logic of the American strategic position.

President Johnson's crime, in retrospect, was his failure to realise, as McNamara quite quickly did, that his would not work in Vietnam. He became enmeshed in an inherited cocoon: he had no intellectual alternative to flexible response; he was committed to the political restraints Kennedy had put on the conduct of the war; he could only hope that each increase in applied force would be the one to achieve the desired result.

Hanoi meanwhile continued the politico-military war, the tactics of which it had learned from the Chinese. In ironic parallel to Rusk morality, it had a force vital for sustaining the war, and that was to expel the American presence from the region. Its ambitions for Indo-Chinese hegemony, which are undoubted, came second to this.

So there you have the two aggressors

WC:ONI Tuesday May 5, 1970

each convinced of its moral rectitude, but each incapable of comprehending the morals of the other. There is, in fact, no empirical standard of morality in international politics. There never has been.

But, whereas the Hanoi morality of kicking Americans out of Asia remained constant, the Rusk morality of resisting aggression underwent drastic changes. The initial objective of military victory switched to a concept of political accommodation. That was what Hanoi had been seeking (on their terms) all along. The final phenomenon came with President Nixon's policy of troop withdrawal, the very negation of the increasing crescendo essential to "flexible response".

Nixon invoked "Vietnamisation" as the rationale for getting out. But did this really change anything? It did not, as we are now learning from the Cambodian situation. Had there really been a radical change in thinking in the U.S. administration, there would be no need for a moratorium day either in America or here. To achieve a really new policy, the U.S. administration would have to make these admissions to itself, if not publicly:

1. We cannot win the war in Vietnam. None of the objectives we have aimed for are obtainable. There is no such thing as a military victory there.

2. This applies equally to Laos and Cambodia, the other two components of the former French colonial empire in the region.

3. The communist strategy, immoral as it may be by our standards, is devastatingly effective in the region. We cannot combat it with any ideology which has meaning to the indigenous inhabitants.

4. If we get out of Indo-China, pro-communist governments are likely to ensue in Saigon, Vientiane and Phnom Penh. This will certainly encourage communist or pro-communist movements in other South-East Asian countries. But if those countries are not by now capable of competing with such movements, they never will be. Our departure is more likely to spark social reform in those countries than inhibit it.

All this, of course, is tantamount to saying "we were wrong all along." And that, as we said at the beginning, is hard enough for a person to do and near-impossible for a President.

But, when a basic moral principle becomes untenable - as Rusk's did gradually from 1966 on but climactically with the My Lai massacre revelations - something has to happen.

If the policy doesn't change, it is necessary at least to make it look as if it has. Thus "Vietnamisation", which is simply a way of fighting the same war with the same U.S. arms and aircraft, the same U.S. financial backing and the U.S. objectives, but with indigenous troops. Whatever you think of President Thieu, I don't think it is any longer accurate to call him an American puppet. But whether he is or not, nothing has happened to convince Hanoi that it is not fighting America.

The Cambodian situation is further proof that Vietnamisation means no change in policy; that it represents only a superficial exit by America. For the arguments in favor of U.S. aid to Cambodia (including, significantly, air support) are that such aid is necessary to protect Vietnamisation of the original war. America, then, is still seeking military victory.

I oppose this not because I side with the Viet Cong (I am a professional non-joiner), nor because, like senator Fulbright, I fear for America's true national interest. I am in favor of nations, including Australia, sometimes doing things which seem not to be in their national interest. Like, for instance, if Russia had refrained from invading Czechoslovakia.

What worries me is that as long as America chases this military mirage, there will be far more human horror in Indo-China than there would be otherwise. And I don't think my stomach can take it.

Robert Duffield.



VIETNAM POETRY

THOUGHTS ON A CONTEMPORARY PROBLEM

The death of heroes is a lingering wound,
Encourages corruption. What remains
To stop the hungry mouths of children found
Wandering in the ashes, hopes still open,
Crawling through fallen spires raised in vain
To write upon the wind and prove God good?

Nothing not soured with loaded anger, ground
To bits by the sullen habit of survival.
Resentment rises slowly through their eyes,
Spreading across their faces. But the stain
Is traceable upon the bone,
Contaminating past, future, and god.

K.H.J. Gardiner.

My Lai

I was milking the cow when a row of tall bamboo
Was mowed by rifle fire
With my wife and child in the one harvest,
And the blue milk spilt and ruined.

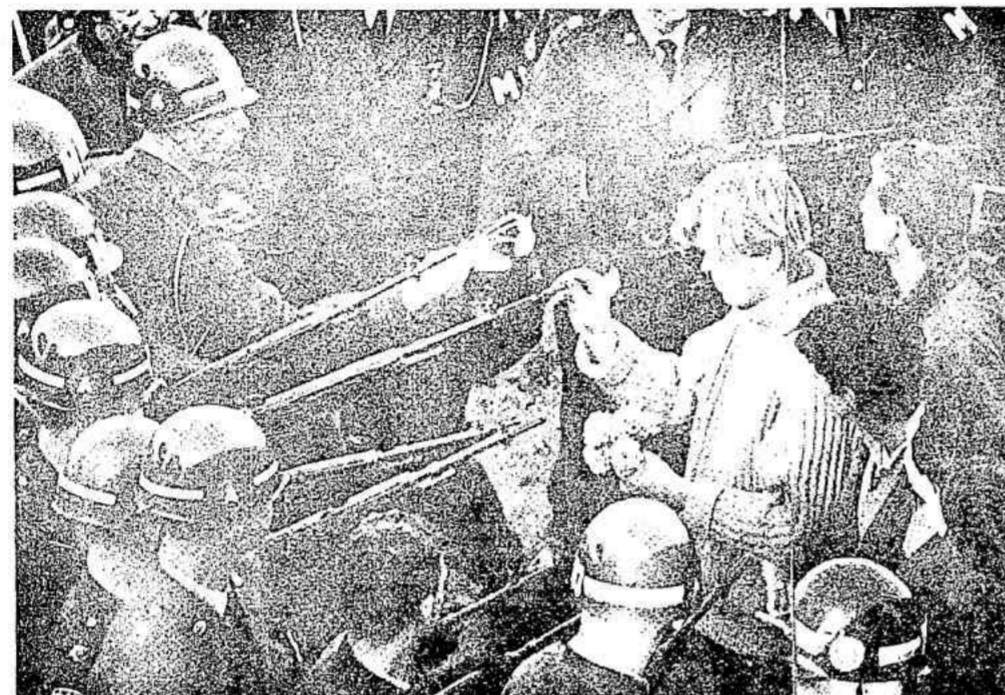
One life, one field, one life. Now the village burns
And the cow chews her cud
Like an old man's thoughts at evening.
Blood is sticky. I have lived too long.

My cousin holding his elbow, unbelieving.
No, no, he has done
Nothing, his eyes white with wonder
As they cry, "I'll get me that one."

The cow is dead that I lie under,
Bodies bloat in the sun.
Who would have thought that they would lie
So heavily upon my heart?

The bamboo mowed in lines. Somehow this happened
Here and in my head.
'Put a rocket in that old cow,
Then it's time to line for chow.'

David Campbell.



SEMINAR

One speaker
an impeccable
Californian
impelled to explain

and
the Chinese Belong In China
The Russians In Russia.
we however -
messiah, oversoul
a pink muscled, clear-eyed
Texan dream
fumigating
Hanoi privies
from above -
napalm bombs gas
God's saniflush, in sun -

The gentleman was
four square as State
or the pentateuch;
sans beard, rope sandals, foul talk, pot-
a fire extinguisher
on Pentecost day;
exuding good-will
like a morticians convention
in a plague year.

Indeed yes.
There is nothing sick
(the corpse said)
about death.
Come in.

Dan Berrigan.



INSCRIPTION FOR A WAR

"Stranger, bear this message to the Spartans, that
we lie here obedient to their laws."
(Inscription at Thermopylae)

Linger not, stranger; shed no tear;
Go back to those who sent us here.

We are the young they drafted out
To wars their folly brought about.

Go tell those old men, safe in bed,
We took their orders and are dead.

A.D.Hope.....1970



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S. R. C.
SURVEY
BELOW
↓ ?

THE CASE OF THE MISSING BOX

On Wednesday night last week, the box containing all the completed survey forms so far received at the S.R.C., was stolen.

Those responsible appear to have done so as a protest at the handling of the survey by the S.R.C., and in particular by the survey's director, Mr. Andrew Morrison.

In order to explain their case, one of the culprits contacted the Canberra Times on Thursday. On Friday morning at the S.R.C. a typed notice was found calling for a general meeting of the students to consider the motions: "That the contents of the box be burnt," and "That this meeting has no confidence in Mr. Andrew Morrison."

It appears that the survey conducted under the guise of confidentiality was in fact open to gross mishandling. Mr. Morrison had the opportunity to correlate the answers with the respondents through a numbering scheme.

The numbering scheme was introduced in order that letters could be sent to urge non-respondents to fill in the questionnaire. The protesters maintain that there could have been a scheme whereby no one could have the opportunity to misuse the information, and at the same time it would be possible to send out urgent letters to non-respondents. Such a scheme was used at Sydney University for the innocuous Housing Survey in 1968.

The information collected is certainly not innocuous in this case especially at a university where a large proportion of students are Public Servants. That an em-

ployee of the Defence Department disagreed with the Australian policy in Vietnam could become of interest for certain Security persons. And the possible inferences are clear.

Thus it is extremely important that no-one have the opportunity to link names with completed forms.

But apparently the protesters claim the issue goes further than this, for the person involved in collating the survey is in such a position where rumours are apt to arise. The truth of the rumours is not the point, that the rumours are possible to arise is the point, for any survey must not under any circumstances leave itself open to charges of abuse.

Thus, the protesters maintain it was foolish of the S.R.C. to put the job completely in the hands of Mr. Morrison, although nothing sinister is implied at all, in reference to Mr. Morrison. His fathers station must be taken into account merely for outward appearances.

It will be interesting to see developments tonight when this meeting is to be held. Anyone who was actually a respondent in the survey especially should come along to be assured that confidentiality has in fact been kept. But whether it has or has not been kept isn't the issue at present: What is at issue is that the survey was open to abuse, and it should not have been.

It will also be interesting to see if those involved will remain anonymous, and if so, how.



ANU REVUE

Applications are called for the position of Editor of "WORONI" in Second Term. Applicants should give details of previous experience (if any) and policy, when handing in their application: Applications close at 5 p.m. next Friday 8th May.

Applications are called for the position of Returning Officer for the S.R.C. by-elections to be held in June. If interested, please apply at the S.R.C. Office before 5 p.m. Monday 11th May.

Mark Cunliffe
President.

S.R.C. SECONDHAND BOOKSHOP

The Bookshop will be open all day on Wednesday 6th and Thursday 7th May, to allow people who have lodged books for sale to pick up their cheques and any unsold books. Books not picked up then will not be available until mid second term. Please come in and allow the bookshop to be finally wound up by the end of term.

Alan P. Barrell
Director.

WANTED
One human skull, will pay reasonable price...Contact Bruce McClintock...S.R.C. Office.

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and - oh shit . they cheered

by garry raffaele

Perhaps it was the bright, sun-drenched day?
Perhaps it was the greener-than-green grass
which squelched softly underfoot?
Or perhaps it was just mass hysteria.

Whatever, the ANU, home of the Southern Tablelands radicals and avant-garde thinkers, really turned it on for Anne Windsor.

Miss Windsor, said by some to have some sort of claim to fame, graciously included the campus of this university on her itinerary - a strange choice when she could well have spent her time more profitably inspecting the Scrivener Dam or the Cotter Kiosk.

But it is not given to us mortals to question decisions from on high. So she came and what do you think happened at the ANU, that bastion of freedom and breast to the freethinker. The bloody place went out of its mind for her. You would have thought the Monarchist Society was giving away dollar notes for each cheer recorded.

The farce began with an incredible performance by some students and several members of the armed forces as they tried, Iwo Jima like, to raise what looked like a cardboard replica of a flag pole on the first floor verandah of the Union. First it went up, then a high policy decision was taken that the pole was too far to the east. Another struggle worthy of the great traditions of our fighting men and there it was, finally in place. The sweating army men moved away to allow he who is colloquially known as the Bearer and the Putter-Up, Tester and Knot-Tier of Her Majesty, Princess Anne of the Royal House of Windsor's Personal Flag and/or standard whichever the case may be, to do his bit. For this job he was especially flown from England by the Australian Government in a chartered DC8 on which he was the only passenger, apart of course from his valet, maid-servant, upstairs maid, down-stairs maid, personal musician, right shoe polisher and left shoe polisher. For his arduous task taking the incredible time of 2½ minutes, this high public official, an integral part of the workings of the Westminster system, has been granted a fully-paid holiday at Surfers with the girl of his choice for three months. Need I say he did not pick Anne. Who has?

Meanwhile that gallant young lady was wending her way toward the campus and the gathered thousands were shifting excitedly.

There they were - birds formerly members of the Labor Club, suddenly finding



cast-aside dresses and delving into Ponds Beauty cream, hoping for a miracle. There were those of course who were actually to be introduced to Miss Windsor and you could almost feel the fingers of envy reaching out to grab them and throttle them.

But suddenly she was there and - oh shit - they cheered. Cheered her, clapped her up the stairs and into the library where Charlie Dickens had cunningly secreted himself hoping to get a picture of the Daily Mirror would pay thousands for, perhaps a pic of Miss Windsor saying "bloody". Now that would be worth a bloody fortune.

Then out of the library past the Celts who achieved nothing but to make themselves look slightly ridiculous. Then a quick shift into top gear and she was past the Abschol people whose Union Jacks spattered with something that was supposed to be blood and looked nothing like it, fluttered half-heartedly - and those weeks of planning and sign-painting had been for nothing. The reporters busily surrounded the demonstrators but little of what was said to the press ever found its way into print. Why should it? With that sort of flaccid demo who'd be convinced you meant what you said anyway?

The Royal Cavalcade moved down the path, the same press got the traditional bronx cheer from those free thinkers who minutes later were cheering what

some of them weeks before had been calling a symbol of western decadence. They're going to make fine public servants. In the union, confusion. The Vice-Chancellor stood below stairs while Miss Windsor was upstairs slumming it with the students who were socking away free coffee and biscuits. The VC looked grey and mouse-like, like a schoolboy who'd been banished from the supper table for saying a rude word like 'damn'.

Sadness! She was leaving. And the cheering broke out again. And the SRC president looking like a pompous pouter pigeon, preened himself as reporters and microphones made an obeisant circle around him.

The cars roared away and memories of the ANU probably slipped from the mind of Miss Windsor but at least she'd made a lot of people happy. The young fresher behind her (what WAS she doing there?) cooed "Weren't her earrings lovely? Wasn't she lovely? Ooooh!"

What do you mean, love, "Lovely". All I remember is a lemon coat, a hat and no face. Personally I don't care much one way or the other about the whole royal bit. Who cares? At least the day wasn't completely wasted. Those cats outside the music room with two very large speakers were playing some pretty groovy Pink Floyd gear. I wonder what Annie thought of it? She dug Hair - or at least that what's her public relations army told me!

trivia- src news.

The 41st Students Representative Council took office on Monday 27th April, with the Students' Association that night passing a motion calling on the new S.R.C. to resign in June. Since resignations will mean by-elections only, unless a General Meeting decides otherwise, it will be the S.R.C.'s decision as to whether elections will be by postal ballot or ballot box. Also, unless a General Meeting decides otherwise, the new post-June S.R.C. will still be the 41st (and not the 42nd) S.R.C. Remember 10 days notice is required for a General Meeting of the Students Association.

x x x x x x x x x x x
In the fond expectation of achieving something during the two months, the new S.R.C. has elected the following members, to join the President, Mark Cunliffe, as members of the Executive:
Richard Regshaug (Vice-President)
Stephen Duckett (Treasurer)
Andrew Morrison (Secretary)
Adam Salzer (NUAUS Secretary)

All the new Executive Members had their photos in the last issue of "WORONI", so if you don't know what they look like, you know where to find out. You can obtain a full list of S.R.C. Office-bearers at the S.R.C. office in the Union.

x x x x x x x x x x x
As a result of the S.R.C. Submission on Dental Health, the Welfare Committee of University Council has recommended to Council that the University should be involved in some form of a Dental Scheme. Meanwhile, a sub-Committee of Welfare Committee (including S.R.C. President, Mark Cunliffe and R.S.A. President, David Scott) is meeting to try to work out what form the Dental Service should take.

x x x x x x x x x x x
Canada's Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, will be at the A.N.U. soon, but it will be during the May Vacation. On Monday, May 18th, at 3.30 p.m., he will answer questions in the Coombs Lecture Theatre. Can't promise afternoon tea, but since the blokes have had a look at Annie, it seems only fair that this one should be for the birds, so to speak.

x x x x x x x x x x x
This Wednesday is Moratorium Day. If you're sick of meaningless promises on Vietnam and Conscription, if you believe a strike is putting it on the line, then tell it as it really is - do what a Students' Association meeting has asked you to do - strike or boycott work or lectures. Attend the Moratorium. Show what your conscience believes.

x x x x x x x x x x x
Every year a group of English & European students comes to Australia during their summer vacation. They work and journey around the nation. This year about six will be coming to Canberra, arriving on about 3rd-4th July. If you would be prepared to billet them in your home for about a week, until they become used to the Australian accent could you please let Mark Cunliffe or Di. Riddell, at the S.R.C. Office know.

x x x x x x x x x x x
The S.R.C. Supplementary Submission on Participation in University Government will now be discussed at more length and more leisure than was formerly expected. Some of the major proposals are printed in this issue of "WORONI". If you agree or disagree, watch out for meetings on the topic and come and tell us what you think. It is now expected to go to University Council in July.



The Revue, "Whatever Happened to Hieronymous Bosch", goes into the final four uproarious days, starting on Wednesday night. Tickets at the Union Shop, and you'll get a Student Concession. Jon Stephens (ANU's resident theatrical genius) has produced another great revue. - one with a message (or is it a question). So get to Childers' Street Hall at 8.15 p.m. this Wednesday, Thursday, Friday or Saturday Night and see what Culture has to offer (that doesn't include Ros Delaney OR Penyn Chapman, I understand.



Podger v Cunliffe.

Mr. Cunliffe answered WORONI last week, so now I would like to reply to Mr. Cunliffe. He made a series of 'rebuttals' and then a list of 'achievements' to show that the SRC is alive and well. May I first examine the 'rebuttals':

- 1) Whether it was in the Constitution of Regulations is a trivial matter. This fact still remains: that at the time there ought to have been 21 people on the S.R.C.
- 2) The number of people on the SRC was disputable with at least two of ten 'ordinary members' speaking of resigning at the time; a WORONI editor (elected for a term of office of 2 weeks) being counted as a member of the SRC; and perhaps I should have mentioned that only four of all these members were actually elected by the students. Yes the number of SRC members is extremely disputable, but the point remains that membership-wise the SRC was in a shocking state.
- 3) Oh! Mr. Cunliffe! Mr. Bain not disliked? I have sat in the SRC often enough to hear what I would say was an appreciable amount of uncomplimentary remarks about Mr. Bain, an amount I regarded as sufficient to say he was 'disliked', and by most of the present council. This attitude I still maintain exists not to the same extent as before, but is certainly there. And I believe the attitude is unfounded.
- 4) And Yes, Miss Fisher, I know she was new to the job and all that, but surely someone ac-

cepting such a job ought to find out what it entails before taking it on, not after. Over a month of reading files is a little ridiculous.

5) Who obtained the Social Action room in the Union, Mr. Cunliffe? Certainly not the SRC. And I know that Social Action was doing nice and good things, but what I was trying to tell you, Mr. Cunliffe, is that students should be teaching the public new and different approaches to Social Action and not just repeating those functions that have become traditional.

6) Sometime I would like to publish in WORONI, the basis of the Sydney SRC's action in buying a T.V. unit, for it is clear Mr. Cunliffe knows little about it. But again I did not say ANU should buy one; what I did say was that this SRC should be formulating some new and interesting ventures of its own.

7) Mr. Cunliffe, I not only spoke for postal elections, I moved the motion for them. And so that charge was not only 'little short of a joke', it was a joke, a somewhat sarcastic joke.

Now all those great things the S.R.C. have done. I have found it rather interesting just how much Mr. Bain has to do with these achievements - the participation submission, the dental submission, etc. It is certainly clear that if Mr. Bain remains away from the S.R.C. the S.R.C. has little chance of maintaining this rate of 'achievements'.

Then again let's look at these achievements.

That participation submission was mostly just a list of participles down the left hand side of the page. It was, I believe, a boring, disjointed, immature and unfortunate document that will achieve little if anything.

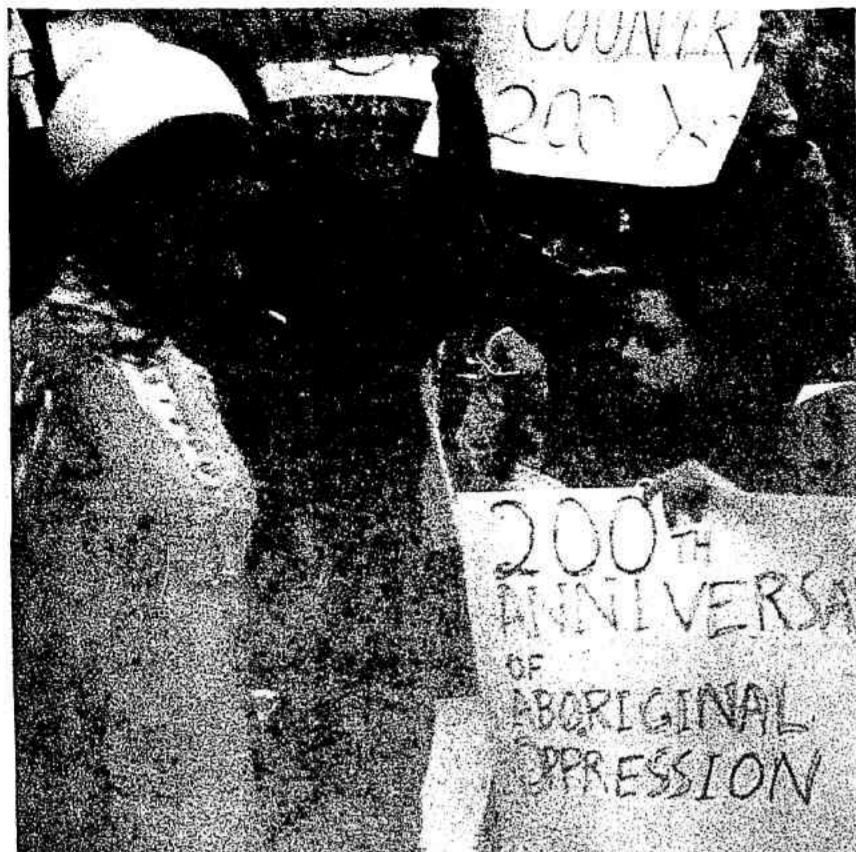
And the dental submission that Mr. Cunliffe mentions again in his 'SRC News' opposite. The effect it has had is certainly to get the Administration to think of dental facilities but honestly I doubt whether they really consider that submission seriously.

The S.R.R. President's allowance being introduced - Mr. Cunliffe do you expect me to accept that as an achievement?

Yes there are little bits and pieces here and there, but still this S.R.C. lacks cohesive aims, a nature outlook, imaginative ideas. In fact, as I said two issues ago, it is, along with this campus, having its 'death throes'.

A.S.P.

P.S. I have apologised in the last issue for the one appreciable mistake I maintain was made in the article. The charge that the SRC was "one of the most inefficient, unimaginative and reactionary Student Councils in Australia", I now realise was a mild charge.



AND THE VIGIL TOO

After all the self-righteous talk of Thursday night's boycott meeting, only 50 students spent last Tuesday night outside Parliament House in the Abschol vigil.

Almost 300 students on Thursday intimidated their support of Aboriginal rights yet when the opportunity for protest was there they gave nothing. Racism through middle-class apathy appears to be rampant at A.N.U.

Nevertheless the 50 or so students, led

by Lenore Manderson the Abschol director at A.N.U., demonstrated with some effect as most reports led the public to believe there were 200 students through the night.

Lenore had two comments at the end of the vigil: that she hoped this vigil would be the last because justice would be seen in the next 12 months, and secondly that A.N.U. students may in future have a little more sympathy for others than they presently show.



BOYCOTTS and BUMPKINS

by john reid

Princess Anne left the A.N.U. on Friday ignorant of the connection between the Royal Visit and Aboriginal Civil Rights. She was quoted in 'The Canberra Times' (25.4) as saying, 'I can't see what it has to do with me'. Few students made any attempt to help her out.

In fact, the Royal 'I can't see what it has to do with me' could well have been the resounding catch cry for the vast majority of European Australians for the last 200 years.

If the attitudes expressed at the General Meeting of the Students Association on the eve of Princess Anne's visit are a reliable gauge, most students who welcomed the Princess were similarly naive.

The members of the Students Association who attended the meeting voted against a motion directing SRC representatives to 'boycott' Princess Anne's visit. The motion aimed to emphasize the unjust treatment of the Australian Aborigines that has resulted from 200 years of European domination and which is still prevalent today.

Andrew Podger who moved the motion clearly outlined the relevance of the royal visit to the Cook Bicentenary Celebrations and the relevance of Cook's landing to the Aborigines. He stressed that the bicentenary was as much an occasion for mourning for members of the Australian community as it was for celebration.

In a country where the Anzac ethos survives so well it seemed amazing that those who attended the meeting could not, or would not, appreciate the point Podger made.

Had the motion been lost in serious debate the outcome would have at least retained some academic quality.

The attitudes displayed at the meeting and their appreciation by the majority would have flouted any genuine loyalist. To such a person the tone of the meeting would have been more of an insult to Princess Anne than it was to the Australian Aborigine. I hate to think what would have happened if an Aborigine had been there.

It is an interesting surmise to think what an Aborigine would have thought of the meeting. Those who spoke against the motion would have provided little more than amusement. Their effort lacked any relevance save the attempt to prove the

motion itself irrelevant and that the 'whole thing' was an embarrassment not only to the Princess but an incredible collection of other people, bodies and institutions.

Mark Cunliffe gave an extremely embarrassing speech to be out done by the only other speaker against the motion, Alan Gordon, who must have tickled the hormones of the most practised rugger bugger. However this Aborigine's amusement would have been more than offset by the derision and mockery which comes so easily from a group. Even Padgham's perspicacious little finger could only trace the arrogance and abuse to the racist bastards up the back.

One question, crucial to the debate, was notably absent. Both sides avoided consideration of the role of royalty. Consequently at no one time was it clear how those at the meeting regarded the monarchy. One did get the impression that most students there were pro-royalty.

If they recognized the monarchy as a serious tradition having more of a social role than an excuse for \$25 tea party then the mentality of Thursday night's meeting was ludicrous. If considered as a 'fun institution' designed to titillate and entertain the populus then the laughter, irony, farce and 'God save the Queen' was perfectly in order and consistent with their rejecting the motion.

If Princess Anne, as a member of the Royal Family, has a symbolic role her presence is of particular importance not only for occasions of celebration but also for occasions of mourning. If she is worth her salt she should regard such action as the boycott motion suggested as a compliment to her position as a royal personage - A position that could be used to emphasize a tragedy still waiting for the curtain fall.

Another point pertinent to this issue obviously needed raising. One of the main functions of the University must be to elucidate societal mistakes and successes.

A student Association worth a crummet should have looked upon the Royal visit as a means of taking a stand: to point out to the Commonwealth and its Government, through the monarchy, an issue that has so far eluded all recognition of the official Bicentenary programme.



miss uni ann shen

STIRRING GENTLY

"The Australian" for Monday, 27th April carried two special articles on the Vietnam Moratorium. One was by Henry Schoenhaimer, Professor of Education at Monash University. The second was by Graham Williams, who devotes his "Religion" column to "A commentary on statements by Church leaders on Vietnam and the Moratorium".

Williams finds fault with the Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops of Australia for their failure to maintain a concerted public protest about the suffering in Vietnam. It should be said in defence of the bishops that a number of them have frequently spoken out on Vietnam and have urged our Government to take initiatives for peace, both at Synods and as individuals. The 'Australian Council of Churches', moreover, has been consistent in its opposition to our participation in the war and to the Americans', and has released a number of statements making its position clear.

However, Williams is unhappiest about Archbishop Knox's and Mr. Santamaria's warnings on the Moratorium proposed for this week, not to mention those of the Commonwealth Attorney-General, Mr. Hughes, and the South Australian Premier Mr. Hall. One of Williams's gravest charges against Australian bishops is their 'tend-

ency to pontificate on issues that are side issues...they generally refuse to get down to the basic issues of right and wrong...It is the tragedy of the Church that in a country caught up in one of the most merciless wars ever waged, churchmen retreat into silence.' By comparison he treats favourably the Pope and Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, general secretary of the World Council of Churches, who recently made a plea to U Thant to take an initiative "to resist the apparent increasing tendency on the part of governments to act politically against their own citizens in the name of law and order".

In fact an increasing number of churchmen are speaking out against the violence of Vietnam, so that the statements of Graham Williams may seem at first too absolute. However it is serious when church leaders takes a stand against an attempt to focus attention upon a great evil, an attempt which many of their own members feel in conscience they must support if the evil is to be overcome. Rather, church leaders should be bringing home to their members that this is not an issue which has nothing to do with religion, on the contrary, that religious faith involves a serious consideration of the rights and wrongs of great contemporary issues, and courage to act according to one's conscience.

IBS

week will probably begin like this

The little old ladies home, St. Vincent de Paul, Goodwin etc. will set up their tiny stalls on the library lawn. Old hats, trousers, vests and drapery will catch the bleary eye of the Monday morning shopper. Forty cents for a complete outfit. Hurray!

Before long, everyone will be looking as if they just came in from the bush to spend a few days in Canberra. How wrong can this be. Their thoughts, encouraged by the spectacle of seeing their mates co clad, will gently go back through the vista to the days of the hack, the hag and the hound.

That night we'll all will gather for the opening of the old photo exhibition in the Menzies Library. Besides looking at the pictures all set out fancy on the walls people will be able to talk to each other over a few drinks or a cup of tea and a bickie.

We should all go to bed early that night.

Tuesday night we'll see the first of the Bush Week Orations. All the girls will have to sit down one side of the hall and the boys down the other side because we're all going to be spoken to about "Morality in the Mulger." No one should go to bed this night (that's why you have to go to bed early on Monday night).

The next day will be Wednesday. The gentlemen will be up and about busying themselves for the Woodchop on the library lawn. A handsome prize will no doubt be won by an equally handsome axeman. The cross-saw cut contest should be a spectacle for the ladies. Two gentlemen at once will be flexing muscles in unison as the sawdust flies and the teeth bite. A well known bookie will offer his services for the onlooking gentlemen.

That night after retiring from the afternoon, the gentlemen may ask a partner to accompany himself to the talkies. The movies that charmed your grandma can have the same delight for you (and your partner).

If you so please the Iron man race may hold your attention the next day. Possum tail soup, home brew beer and a fag of dried tea leaves. Great Mate. Ripper.

Some of the wild boys are going to have a bit of colonial music that night. Of course there will be other things to listen to. One of the boys from down south has got some tape recordings of tales from old codgers who live around Bombarla - ruff as guts these blokes. Some of the old bags lay on the yarns too. The choral society are going to give a rendition you know. A few dirty ditties wouldn't go astray either, would they? The bloke who gets put away longest for saying rude words, wins.



Course on Friday there will be a scavenger hunt and a keg to be won. Will also have a treasure hunt up Black Mt. - bury a casket of champion claret, leave a couple of bots. lying around with the clues to keep the kids going.

Friday afternoon - whats ya story, china.

Other than that start to bar-b-que a few sheep on a spit on the library lawn - in preparation for the Bush Ball in the Union. A few chops and a punch for supper.

Prosh Saturday morning, Sloch Saturday afternoon.

On Sunday you catch a train at your own risk for a country town for the day. A Theatre group Australiana, a genuine bush wedding, picnic races and bonafide travelers will be there, (and an old time jazz band).

If ya got any ideas, drop a note to the Bush Week Director. S.R.C. Office. Union.

SNAP family al check your bum

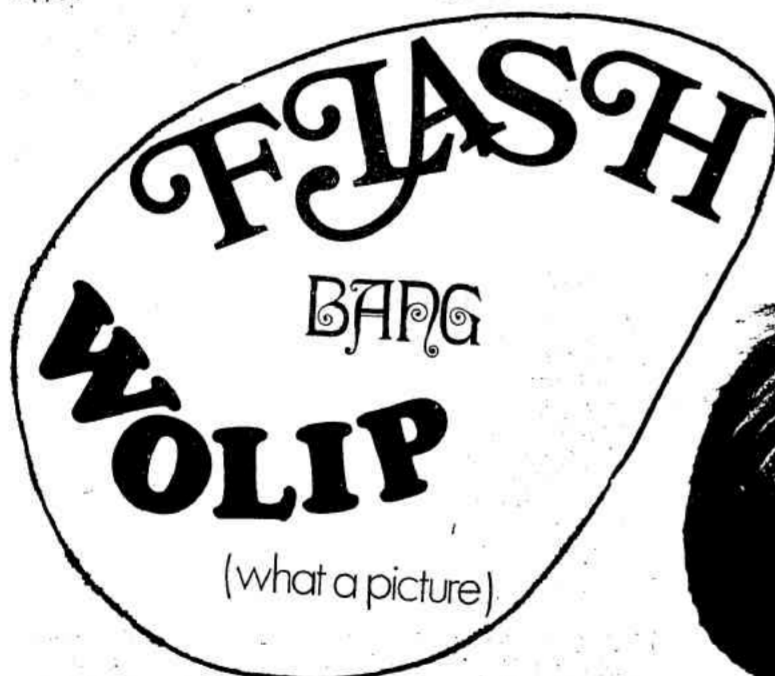
Twenty Dollars is the prize to be won for the best entry in the old photo exhibition. The entries can be any size and preferably captioned (actual, fiction, or otherwise). The photographs should be as old and bushy as possible.

The opportunity should be taken during the May vacation to check out the old family picks, or hunt for snaps where ever they may be found. Students are asked to send their entries to the Exhibition Director, Old Photo Exhibition, S.R.C. Office.....Union.

The exhibition is open to entries from students and staff of the University. There is no limit on the number of entries.

THE BUSH WEEK RAG WILL GO COLONIAL IF HELP IS PROMPTLY FORTHCOMING FROM THE FOLLOWING:

- an inhabitant of a colony esp. of a British Crown Colony;
- one who has worked in the State department in charge of the colonies;
- one who allegedly believes in the exploitation of backward or weak peoples;
- a settler or part founder of a colony;
- a planter of voters in a district for party purposes;
- a settled veteran in a conquered territory acting as a garrison;
- a member of a community fully or partly subject to a mother country;
- one who is living more or less in isolation;



BUSH WEEK

Old Photo Exhibition
menzies gallery july. 20 - 24

SEND DIRECTOR OLD PHOTO EXHIBITION
ENTRIES TO S.R.C. OFFICE UNION

photographs should be in the bush spirit and captioned.
a prize of \$20 will be offered to the best entry;
closing date for entries is june 20.



WHAT!

UGH NOT AGAIN!

There comes a time in the life of all organisations when it faces the unsettling fact that it does not have sufficient funds. That time has come to the ANU Sports Union. There are, of course, a number of possible solutions to overcoming the problem, the least, but most practical and reliable of these being to raise the fees of its members. The suggestion of a fee rise, or course, raises cries of horror, antagonism, and protests from all areas of the University, from playing fields to hallowed hall and library nook. However, before you rush to the Sports Union Office to burn it down and to lynch the Sports Council perhaps a few points of information might be useful.

WHAT!

The Sports Union, formed in 1964, is the body elect charged with organising and running sport in the University. If this conjures up visions of unlimited riches being bestowed on a few athletes with lithe well-oiled healthy bodies be assured that this is an archaic concept not in keeping with the times.

In its modern concept, the Sports Union through its elected representatives on Sports Council, aims at providing sporting type recreation to as many members of the University community as wish to participate. While sport will always be associated with competitions, training and becoming fit, there is another aspect involved with supplying recreation for those who wish to while away the odd moment of that rare commodity called leisure time. It is this latter aspect which concerns the present day sports union as much or even more than the more traditional aspects.

Besides assisting teams to enter competitions and supplying facilities to these teams the Sports Union is working towards making opportunities and facilities available for the recreational sportsman. To this end it encourages the use of its facilities for social competitions between groups around the University, has organised interfaculty competition and supports non competitive sporting and recreational clubs. There are currently 30 clubs covering all the traditional sports and including parachuting, skindiving, surfboardriding, boomerang throwing, caving, mountaineering and others. Temporary use of a gymnasium has been obtained in the form of the Kingsley Street Hall, originally the Army drill hall, this stands on land obtained by the University for development. This hall, available for a short period, provides a main gymnasium plus rooms for weight training circuit training, judo karate, table tennis and an armory. It is hoped to open the area all day and night. The area allows facilities to be made available for individual and small group activities such as fitness training, table tennis, badminton, basketball and volleyball.

Plans have also been drawn up for the development of an indoor sports and recreational centre aimed at providing recreation of all forms. It is hoped the Centre will contain squash courts, a gymnasium capable of being used simultaneously for all manner of sports including indoor hockey and tennis, an indoor small arms range, a climbing wall, rooms for mat sports and fitness training, and an area for trampolining and the new bounce ball game (combined trampolining and volleyball). Eventually the centre will include an indoor swimming pool, sauna baths, rest areas, secluded sunbathing and a fitness and injury clinic. The first stage including six squash courts will be ready for the 1972 academic year.

A recent move towards providing sport and recreation for more of the University community has been the expansion of associate members rights for spouses of members. This has arisen from the recognition that many students, graduate, under graduate and particularly part-time students, are married and that the family unit has become an integral part of the University community.

ANOTHER

Why pay fees?

It does not take long before someone asks "why should I pay Sports Union fees at all. I don't use any of the facilities offered". "Why should I pay to provide sport and facilities used by only a small proportion of the students." (Fact first: only one third of the members actively participate in the activities of the 30 affiliated clubs with the number rising to 50% if one includes those who play social competition). This compared to other Universities is a high proportion.

Unfortunately the Sports Union (similar to other bodies in the University) has not been able to find a rich benefactor to cover running and developmental costs. Therefore, some alternative source of revenue must be sought and in any community the only plausible means is by taxation. In any taxation system the individual pays for items which do not appear to benefit him or her directly. To conceive that every University student who comes to University does nothing else but attend lectures, read in the library and study is ridiculous. Such persons are unusual, or mad or, if not, soon will be. At some time in every student's attendance at University he or she will want to buy lunch, relax over a cup of coffee, read quietly, partake in some club activities, join an arts or performer group, attend an exhibition, debate, performance or sporting contest or play sport. All of these activities are covered either by the students association, union or sports union, all needing funds to support such activities. Not every student uses the facilities provided by each of these organisations but most students use the facilities provided by at least one of these organisations. Thus it is possible that one student uses the sports union facilities and not those of the Sports Union. So before you complain that you pay for a facility you do not use remember you are probably using a facility for which somebody else pays and does not use. If everybody paid for only what they used the individual organisations fees would have to be higher with the same net results as when lower fees are paid to all organisations.

"Why should I pay fees which allow an amount over current running costs to be used for future development? I won't be here to use such facilities". This rather narrow view is answered by the fact that you are using facilities paid for by previous generations of students.

"Why should part time students pay as much as full time students when they do not spend as much time at the University". Experience has shown that in the sporting sphere, because of the nature of the Canberra Community, part time students make up almost 50 per cent of the active membership of clubs. To assist part time students to participate fully the Sports Union has made provisions such as authorising air travel and reasonable grants to Intersvarsity contests, in places such as Perth, so that they may complete with minimum loss of time and wages. The future facilities are also being developed to be used as much at night and the weekend as during the day.

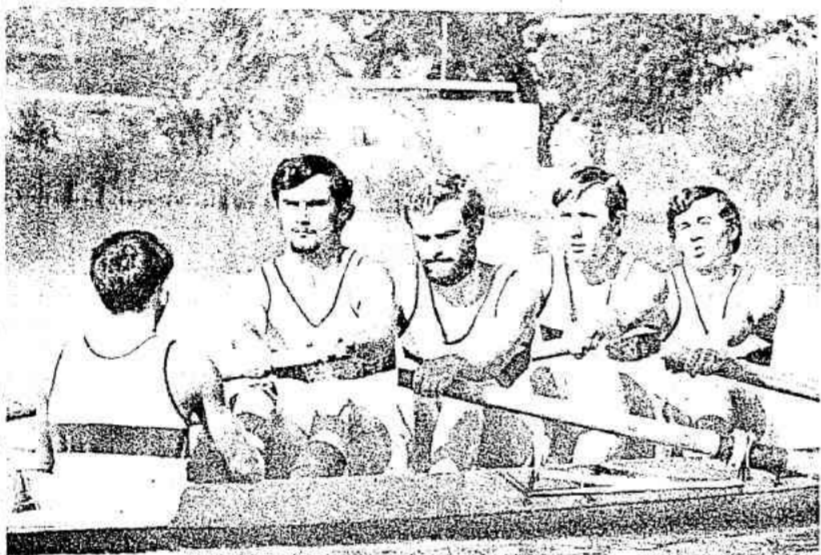
"Because I pay my own fees I can't afford to pay extra fees". First the number of students completely putting themselves through University is low, and second, the cost of sports fees is less than \$1.00 per month. For this low amount, opportunities, facilities and equipment are made available which such persons in their position would not normally be able to afford.

It is also important to remember that the opportunity to use any of the Sports Union facilities is available to everybody who pays sports union fees. Whether a student does use the opportunities afforded is a matter of personal choice.

Where does it all go?

As a member of the ANU Sports Union each member has a right to know where fees go and how they are used. The Sports Union is run by an executive and sports council of 9 elected persons with the

FEE



Research Students Association, Students Association and University Council being able to elect representatives to the Council. The Council is an elected body and choice of these persons is, therefore, the responsibility of the general sports union membership. In addition each member has a right to communicate directly with sports council, and to be heard at the two general meetings which are held each year. (Other general meetings may be also called at the request of a number of the membership.) Sports Council, your elected body, controls the day running of the sports union and also controls the financial administration of the sports union.

The present sports union fee is \$8.00 of which \$2.00 must constitutionally be set aside towards development of the indoor sports and recreation centre. This leaves fees of \$6.00 per student to be used for running and development of the sports union. This amount has not changed since 1965.

Your \$8.00 fee is proportioned as follows:

Capital Development	\$ 2.58
General Administration	2.93
Subscription & running costs	58¢
Minor Capital Development & Maintenance	58¢
Intersvarsity running costs	35¢

The remainder is granted to clubs to be used for entering teams in competitions, paying fees to belong to the various local associations, assisting clubs with equipment and providing a small travel assistance to intersvarsity contests. Of these items the various competition costs and

RISE?

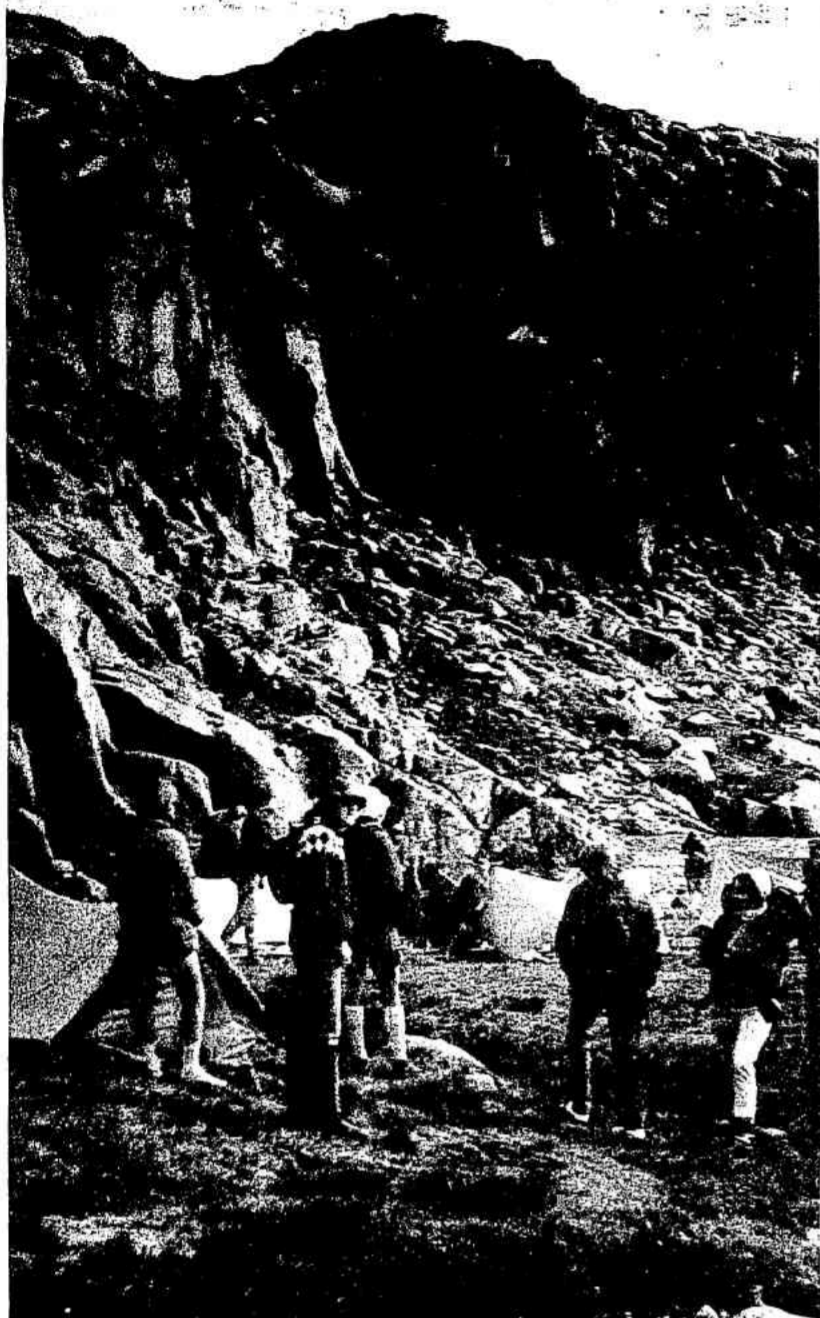


local association levies require at least \$1.28.

The transfer to capital development besides the \$2.00 per head includes an annual \$3,000 transfer required by the University. This money may be used by the Sports Union for capital development and is currently being used to purchase a lodge at Thredbo alpine village. The lodge will be available to all members for skiing, fishing, mountaineering and other alpine activities in winter and summer. In return for this transfer the University assists the sports union by maintaining all the playing fields and buildings as well as paying for cleaning and electricity. This currently costs around \$18,000 and can be expected to increase to around \$40,000. Students should realise that the University is assisting them to an amount equal to the total working budget of the organisation.

General administrative costs include salaries for office staff and a sporting centre attendant, stationery, telephone, postage and other necessary running costs. For this amount student interests are best provided for and looked after and clubs are provided secretarial and other assistance in running themselves.

Subscriptions and running costs include a subscription to the Australian Universities Sports Association, payments for the sporting accident insurance available to all members, as well as first aid and provision of physiotherapy services. A large amount is necessary to pay for the hire of facilities not provided for on campus. Such facilities include squash courts extra playing fields and facilities for competition where Kingsley St. Hall is



inadequate or this and the fields are already being used.

Sports Union provides for some development of its own facilities in the way of lighting ovals providing goalposts and tennis nets, etc., providing for special indoor equipment, and maintenance of this equipment. These items come under the heading, minor capital development and maintenance.

By belonging to the AUSA and competing in Intersports the ANU is obliged to run the various sporting contests in its turn. The item, intersports running costs provides for these costs.

The remainder of the fee 98¢ is used towards providing for the various costs involved with providing for assisting members to enter contests and partake in the sport of their choice. Sports Council considers that it is one of the Sports Union's prime objects to enter teams in the local competitions. This amount alone costs \$1.28 per student. So that certain team equipment is available at no extra cost to the member and a small assistance is provided to attend Intersports contests at least another \$2.50 per member is required. Even with all these costs provided for a member of a team must still pay a considerable amount out of his own pocket for personal equipment and other items. This means that those who elect to participate in a sport do not do so solely at the expense of others who do not. There is obviously a deficit in funds in 1970 with the result that club equipment grants have been reduced to less than 1/3 of those required. This cut will have to be more in future years if a fees rise is not obtained.

HOW MUCH?

From the above analysis it can be seen that to properly provide for all the needs of sports union members requires a subscription of at least \$3.00 over and above the present sports union fee. This is not available and during this year, the provision of minimum requirements will cost \$6,000 more than is available. The

situation will not change next year nor the next as costs escalate. Because it considers it would be improper to only half provide for the needs of sports union members, sports council has decided to present the following motion to a general meeting of members on Monday, 8th June, 1970.

"That the fees of the ANU Sports Union be \$12.00 for full members and full associate members and \$6.00 for associate members".

Such a fee will properly provide for the financial requirements of the sports union. This amount will also provide for any escalation of costs that will arise in the near future. It is obvious that in the initial stages a small surplus will be available until costs eat this up.

This money can be put towards the capital development fund and provision of the new indoor sports recreation centre. This will not only bring the facility closer in-line to the present generation of students but will also encourage the Australian Universities Commission to look more favourable on the ANU. There is no doubt that the recent \$2.00 fee rise for Capital Development was instrumental in showing the A.U.C. that we had a large degree of self help allowing them to grant the ANU \$200,000 for sporting facilities in the 1970-72 triennium.

It is, therefore, in the interests of all sports union members to attend the general meeting on Monday 8th June and to vote in the affirmative for the fees rise. Members who do not are doing themselves a grave injustice. If you want to discuss the matter or want further information you are urged to contact any of the following sports council members: Mervyn Aston, Richard Miller, Andrew Proctor, Leslie Jacques, Linda Parris, Andrew Potter, Alistair Urquhart, Dave Walters or Edward Boyce. BUT REMEMBER TO ATTEND, TO VOTE YES.

Mervyn Aston,
President,

ANU Sports Union.

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letters letters!

THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA



P.O. BOX 883,
CANBERRA CITY,
A.C.T. 2801.
22nd April, 1970.

The Editor,
WORONI,
Box 4, G.P.O.,
CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600.

Dear Sir,

I have read your article about our organisation in your issue of the 22nd April, 1970. There are several misleading statements in the article which I wish to correct.

(1) The average age of Party members is 26 and two of the three members of the Central Executive are under thirty. Thus the statement that "Most of the 'leaders' are old and most of the followers are impressionable yet-to-mature youths" is nonsense unless one agrees that 90% of University students are in this category.

(2) Mr. Eric Wenberg is not Party Leader but is National Organiser. He was elected to this position at the 1969 annual Party Congress and not by myself.

(3) Mr. Ross Frank did not leave the Party in disgust but was expelled for "Nordicism" a deviation which contends that blond and blue-eyed people (such as Mr. Frank) are "superior" to darker hair or complexioned people.

(4) The statement that "it is doubtful if the party could ever mean much" is belied by the amazing growth of the party over the last twelve months. We are now one of the most rapidly growing political forces in the Nation as indicated by our very successful Easter Congress which was attended by delegates from all Australian States and from New Zealand. At the Congress we selected candidates to contest the forthcoming Senate elections in three States.

(5) I am not a dreamer-type and nor do I have a moustache of any variety (why look older than my 29 years?). I will say that I am an idealist and have sacrificed a promising academic career to work for the Party for a few dollars a week. I do not feel "inferior" to anybody as my academic achievements have been well above average and it is, in fact, my scientific objectivity - not my lack of it - which brought me to National Socialism.

I suggest to you that the author of the article cannot really believe his own rubbish or he would have had the courage to reveal his identity to his readers. Of course, we know who he is and from his past record we are not surprised at his petty "stab-in-the-back" antics.

Yours sincerely,

ERIC WENBERG
National Secretary.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Cawthron's letter re-Sieg Bloody Who? is unworthy of reply. However, the petty inconsistencies and dishonesty of this party are well illustrated:

1. 90% of Uni students? Bad example, nicht wahr? Reference to yet-to-mature youths is true. ANU students witnessed a sample of those lads handing out pamphlets after Triumph of the Will.

2. Organiser, Leader, Head, Führer - wot's in a name?

3. Ross Frank DID leave in disgust! I ought to know. Nordicism bit is very amusing - but an outright lie. Are all party members this honest?

4. So what if the party has more members? So have the Assylums. I repeat, IT IS DOUBTFUL IF THE PARTY COULD EVER MEAN MUCH.

Ross Frank.

FOUR BY TWO

Sir,
We've all heard the legend about how King Adolf burnt the kikes. Indeed, one of the phenomena of our age is the world-wide campaign to prevent our forgetting the events of World War 11. Unfortunately, the world's revisionist at Hitler's extermination of the Jews has been exploited by the Zionists and their comrades, so that any opposition to Israel's territorial ambitions is hysterically labelled "racist" or "anti-semitic".

Racist? Can a group dedicated to the maintenance of the "superiority" of the "chosen race" refer to others as "racists"? People who live in gas-houses shouldn't throw stones. If any reader wishes to see an example of true racism, let him read such periodicals as the "Australian Jewish News" or "Israel Magazine".

What about "anti-semitism"? Can anyone seriously imagine that a group with such disproportionate ascendance in international economic circles is really worried about such sentiments? Obviously, Jewish pre-occupation with their own image reveals either a misplaced self-pity or a psychopathic persecution complex.

Anti-Jewish feelings have persisted throughout history, in any society where the presence of Jews has manifested itself. The common denominator in all these situations has been the Jews themselves. Is it not a logical deduction that the actions and attitudes of the Jewish people have actively provoked anti-semitism?

\$ stands for Synagogue in Jew York:

By courtesy of The Melbourne Herald (10th March, 1970, article: "Jews Swing the votes"), let us see who really controls the world's financial capital. All passages in inverted commas are direct quotes from the aforementioned article.

"In New York and its surrounding countries there are 2,381,000 Jews, 25% of the city's population. But, more significantly, they form 40% of the city's registered voters....Significantly, 26.5% of Jews in New York are self-employed. They control the city's biggest industry - the \$4000 million women's ready-to-wear trade - owning most of the ten thousand firms in the city's garment district. Following through, they control the great department stores of Macy's, Gimbles, Stern's, Bloomingdale's, Ohrbach's," etc.

"They virtually run the diamond trade and are heavily represented in the insurance and real estate businesses. And Jewish families own the most influential

5. Mr. Cawthron's egocentric reaction shows how objective they can be. His self-concept seems to have changed, although he does admit to be idealistic if not a dreamer. He was photoed in both the Canberra Times and the Courier with a moustache - was he trying to look older then? Also, neurosis formation can develop regardless of scholastic achievement.

6. Nazis must have messy backs! Dreaming of themselves as Siegfried (laugh now) they are always being "stabbed in the back". Surely Mr. Cawthron means "faced with the truth"? As for authorship, I tried to be objective and omnipresent rather than sensationalist and didn't consider it worth mentioning. Of course I accept responsibility for the article. Besides three articles in one issue makes me look greedy, doesn't it?

Ross Frank.

These are just a couple of examples. If you examine any other enterprise based on public exploitation, chances are you will find a Jew at the heart of it. Of course, success is no ground for condemnation. But if it can be shown that such success is gained by the conscious and deliberate exploitation of the non-Jewish public (I will not deign to legitimize the racist term "gentile"), then there are strong grounds for protest. Further, when one racial group gains 100% control of the U.S. movie industry, (see "Who's who in world Jewry" for confirmation), the public has strong grounds for demanding a less kosher visual diet.

The whore in Vietnam:

While Jews constitute 4% of the U.S. population, they make up less than 0.5% of the American Task Force in Vietnam. Of these, the majority are involved in non-combatant roles, including black-marketeering and prostitution. (The Vietnamisation of Judaeo-american culture is obviously proceeding apace.) While Jewish financiers line their pockets by prolonging the unwinnable war (or exerting pressure to that effect), they let the whites and Negroes do the dirty work. Indeed, this is one of the prime reasons for the rise in black anti-Semitism throughout the U.S.A. (see E.Raab. "Commentary: The Black Revolution and the Jewish Question").

The Big Land Grab:

Guess who owns more land in Australia than any other person or group? You say the Gurindji tribe? Think again! The answer is R.J. Kleberg, the Jewish-American finance magnate. One of his holdings alone covers 10 million acres of our country - King Ranch Incorporated. Altogether he owns over twelve huge holdings in Queensland, the N.T. and N.S.W. Other holdings are being leased by Kleberg from the Government at undisclosed terms. So much for Gorton's Israeli-type defence plans....looks like he managed to override his Cabinet after all.

Epilogue:

I anticipate a hysterical response to this letter. So before you sharpen your quills, read it again and ask yourself, honestly, whether or not the facts expressed herein can be controverted.

Graham Simmons.

Sir,

The students as a body deserve to be commended for their action in rejecting the proposal to 'boycott' the visit of Princess Anne to the campus. It was demonstrated by the speakers at the meeting that the motive for the decision was neither lack of concern for the aborigines or excessive love for the monarchy.

The argument that a passing of the motion would embarrass the University would more accurately explain the overwhelming vote against it, though I think the explanation goes further than superficial face-saving.

Fundamentally the students were unwilling to pass a motion that was patently open to ridicule. The link between boycotting Anne's visit, or even the Birentenary celebrations as a whole, and the advancement of the aboriginal cause was so obscure as to be laughable. The fact that Australian governments have mishandled, and continue to mishandle, numerous issues, of which the aboriginal question may be one, gives no logical ground on which to disparage such harmless activities as the Bicentenary celebrations. Even more clearly, such disparagement could not advance the aboriginal cause one iota. Furthermore, a boycott on such irrelevant grounds would do so much harm to the students' credibility with the community as to seriously

prejudice any future stands on more coherent issues.

In short, the suggestion was infantile, and the students did well to laugh it to scorn.

Phillip Perry (Arts/Law 4)
Garran Hall.

Dear Sir,

I refer to the proposed boycott of Princess Anne which you and your staff appear to support so strongly in your latest issue of Woroni.

It seems an unnecessary display of rudeness towards a visitor. Her visit seems to have a very tenuous connection with the S.R.C.'s protest and seems only to furnish an excuse for a display of childishness and ill-manners.

I should be most interested to hear of any instances where you or your staff have done anything constructive whatsoever on behalf of the Australian aborigine. It appears to be a topic used merely for debating purposes and to enable persons to get into print.

Perhaps other readers would also be interested to hear of any constructive help which you have provided for these people, such as a period of service on an Australian mission.

D.Glynn-Connolly
K. Ryan
R.Rochford

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY SPORTS UNION

GENERAL MEETING

There will be a General Meeting of the A.N.U. Sports Union at 8.00 p.m. on MONDAY, 8TH JUNE, 1970 in the Upstairs Dining room of the Union.

AGENDA

To present the following motion -

"That the fees of the A.N.U. Sports Union be \$12.00 for full members and \$6.00 for ordinary associate members"

proposed by Sports Council.

NEIL GRAY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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11.30 a.m. - Rally meets at Garema Place

12.30 p.m. - Rally arrives at Parliament House

Speakers - WHITLAM
CAIRNS
MURPHY
CALWELL
ENDERBY

2.00 p.m. - Teach-in on Parliament House lawn.

Your support for the Moratorium will be another voice in a Nationwide chorus calling for the immediate withdrawal of Australian troops, repeal of the National Service Act, and an end to a futile, unjustified and illegal war.



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Sir,

Why is the Government, and those who support their position, virtually refusing to argue any case for our continued military involvement in Vietnam? Why do they rely on guilt by association and prophesies of violence? The answer is surely that they have no argument and they have to rely on apathy, prejudice and the stirring of blind fears.

Do we have to continue to argue the case for withdrawal and against the immorality and injustice of the present National Service Act? I suppose we do. Yet in another sense we degrade ourselves by doing it. Let me quote Noam Chomsky.

"By entering the arena of argument and counter-argument, of technical feasibility and tactics, of footnotes and citations, by accepting the presumption of legitimacy of debate on certain issues, one has already lost one's humanity. This is the feeling I find almost impossible to repress when going through the motions of building a case against the American

War in Vietnam. Anyone who puts a fraction of his mind to the task can construct a case that is overwhelming; surely this is now obvious. In an important way, by doing so he degrades himself, and insults beyond measure the victims of our violence and moral blindness. There may have been a time when American policy in Vietnam was a debatable matter. This time is long past. It is no more debatable than the Italian war in Abyssinia or the Russian suppression of Hungarian freedom. The war is simply an obscenity, a depraved act by weak and miserable men, including all of us, who have allowed it to go on and on with endless fury and destruction - all of us who would have remained silent had stability and order been secured."

It is a lamentable fact that, had we succeeded in 'pacifying' the 'insurgents' and establishing the lethargy of a puppet government, many of those who to-day silently oppose our continued involvement would never have broken their silence. Due to what must be one of the most heroic resistances of all time - the resistance of the National Liberation Front - they still have their chance. It is the moratorium on 6 May.

Robin Gollan.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Raffaele in his article Raffaele's gospel (Woroni 22nd April), seemed to show himself to be one of those people I mentioned in my review of Son of Man (Woroni 8th April) who try to fit the facts to their ideas. His article showed simply that his prejudice inspired him to knock Christianity for the sake of knocking it.

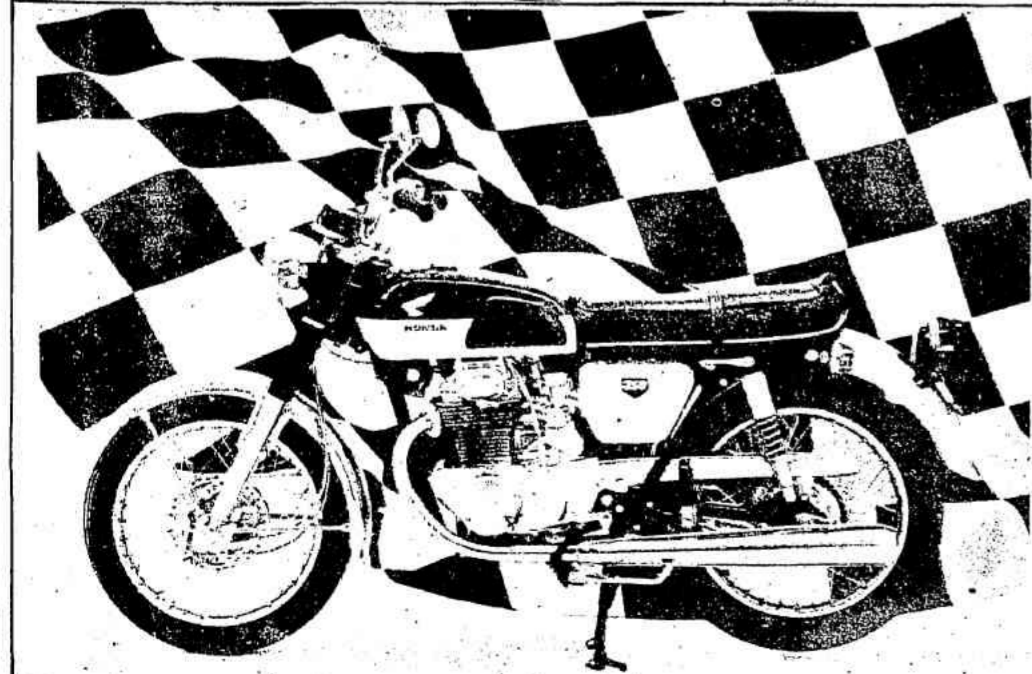
Is it not possible that it is not the essence of religion (here 'religion' refers to Christianity) which needs to "adapt itself to the conditions of today", but rather the peripheral features, the trappings? In any case what is the essence of Christianity?

What about the divine authority of scripture and the connection postulated by Mr. Raffaele between this and the "other precepts of organised religion - the beads, the candles, the plaster saints, the pomp and the ceremony."? Surely the divine authority of scripture is a biblically based precept held by some sections of the organised Christian religion, while these other matters are not biblically based and are again precepts held only by some

sections of the organised Christian religion? Is it not necessary to distinguish between christianity as portrayed in its source document and Christianity as exemplified and propounded by most, if not all, of those organisations claiming to represent organised Christianity?

What sort of knowledge of Jesus Christ or of God would be possible if the whole Bible were to be discounted or neglected? There would in 'this case be no objective truth in christianity nor any possibility of defining Christianity. Has Mr. Raffaele ever seriously examined how far the biblical records can be considered reliable in the fields for which they claim divine authority? A thorough examination and an element of faith are both necessary in Christianity, but the element of faith should not be discarded before the thorough examination is made.

I suggest, too, that Mr. Raffaele re-read my review of Son of Man. Some of his comments on it, although perhaps legitimate as references to my personal beliefs, showed that he had missed the main point of my comments on the play. Garran Hall. Graham Mc.Kay



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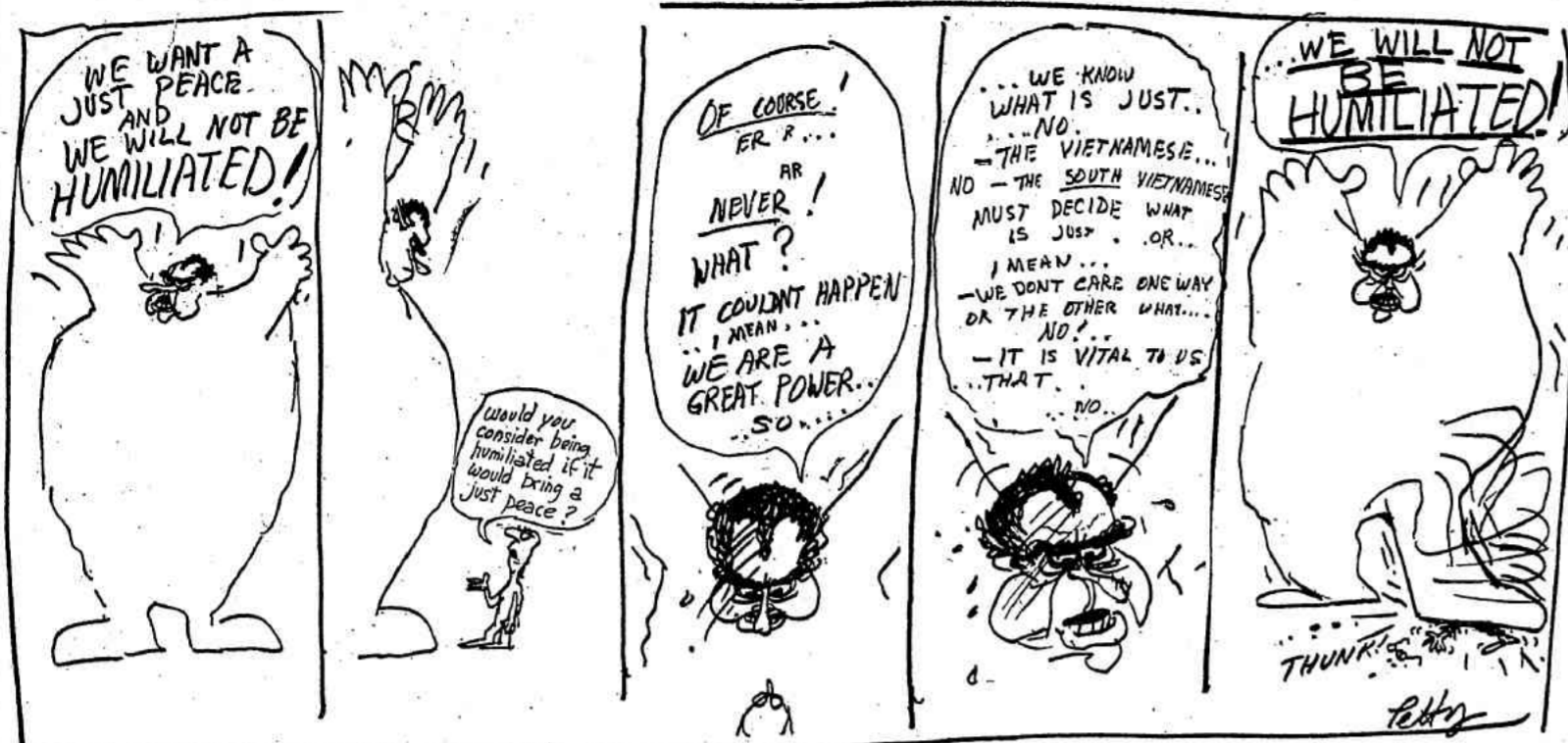
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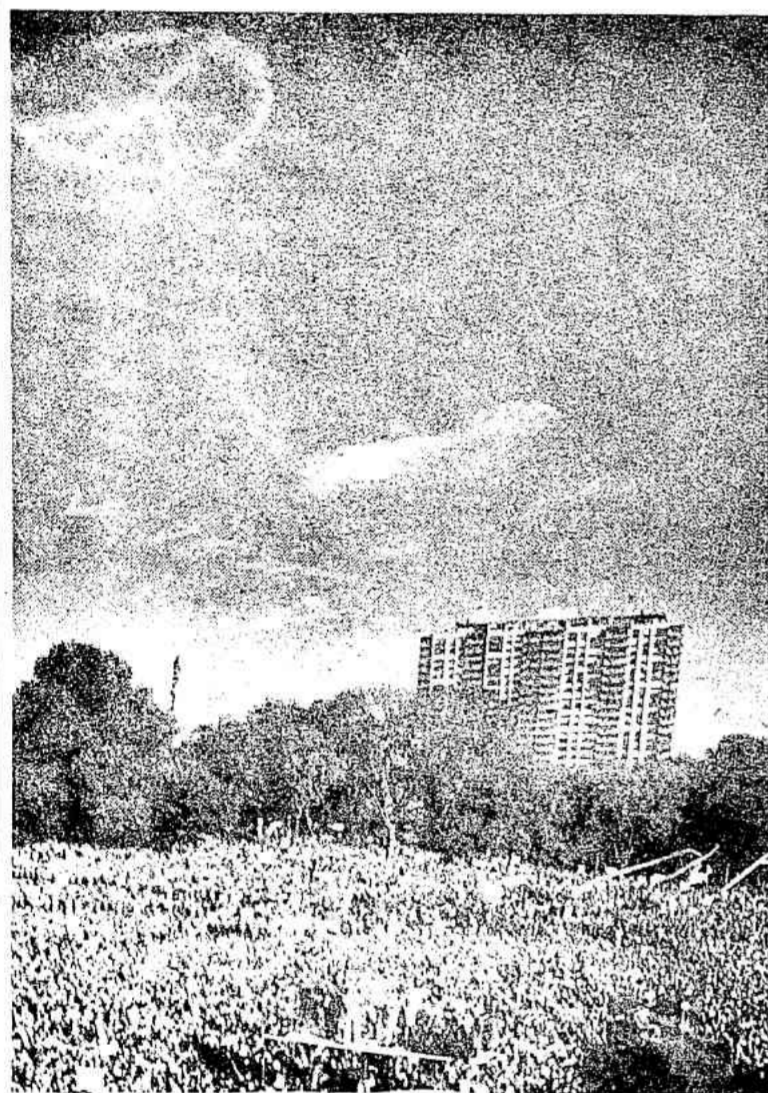
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